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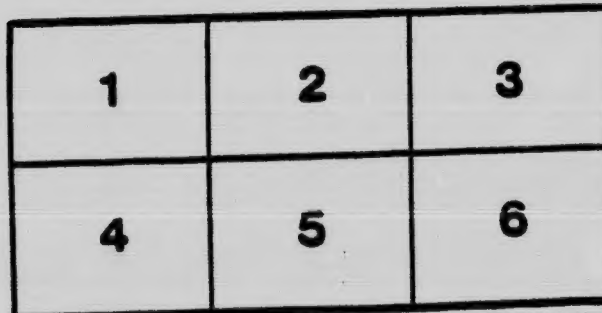
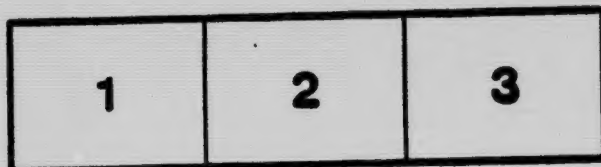
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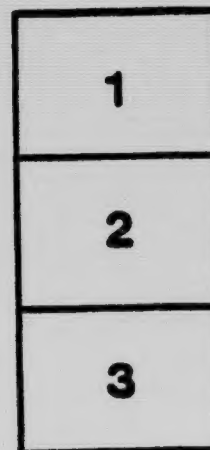
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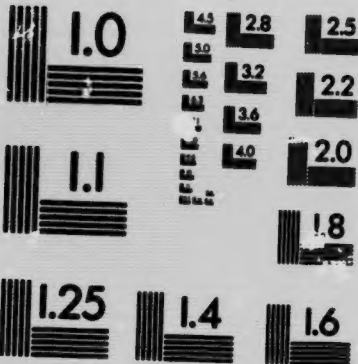
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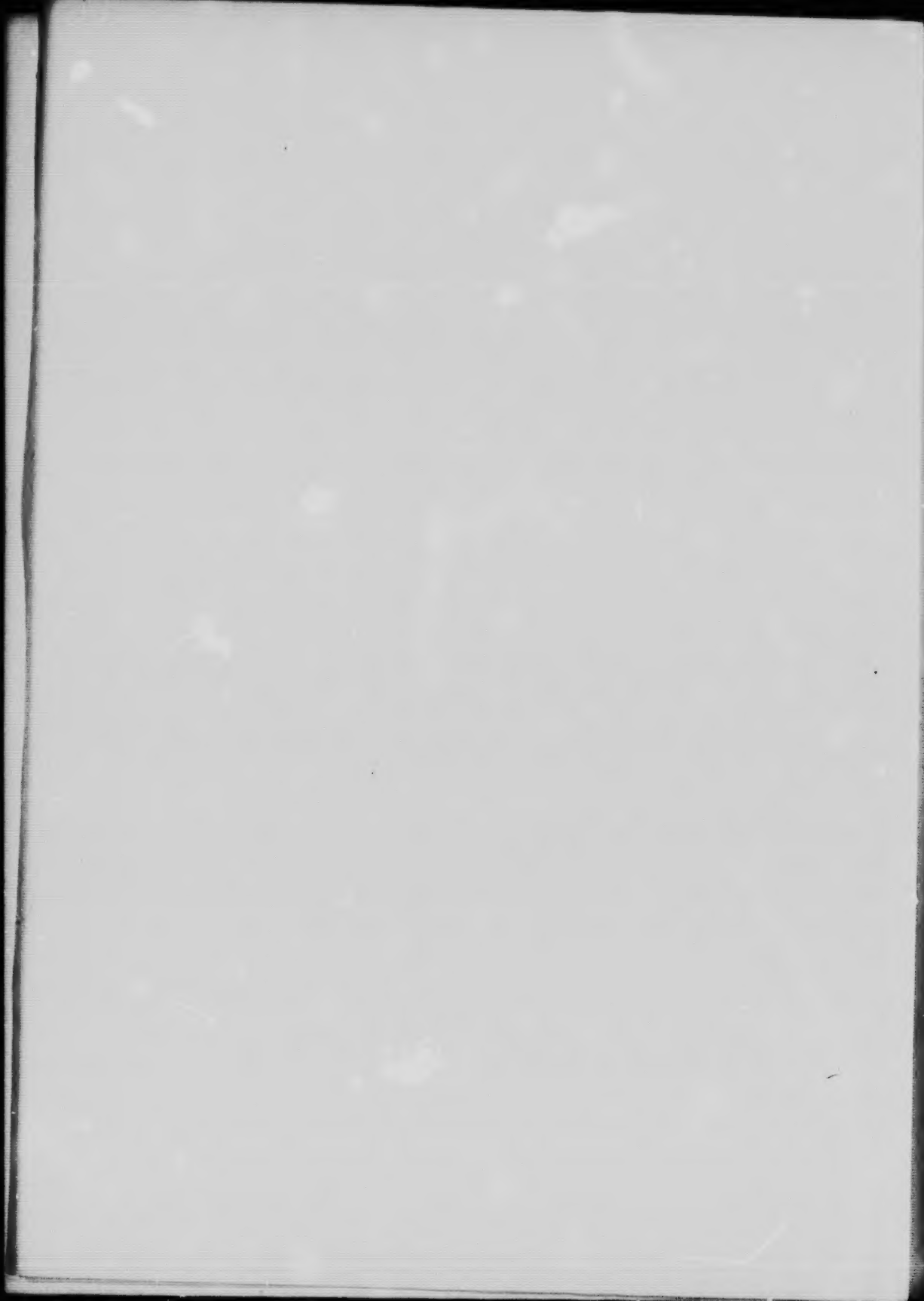
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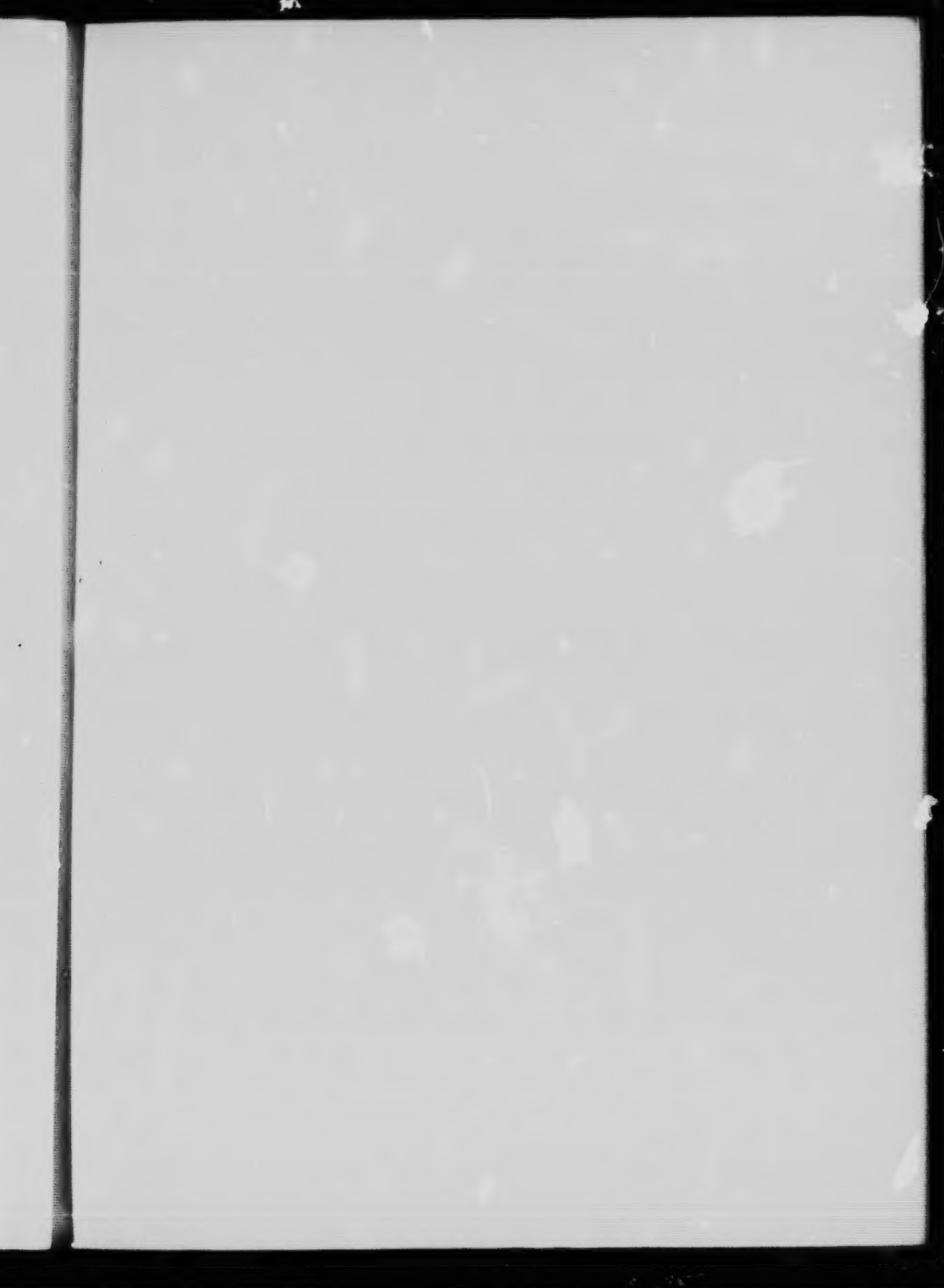


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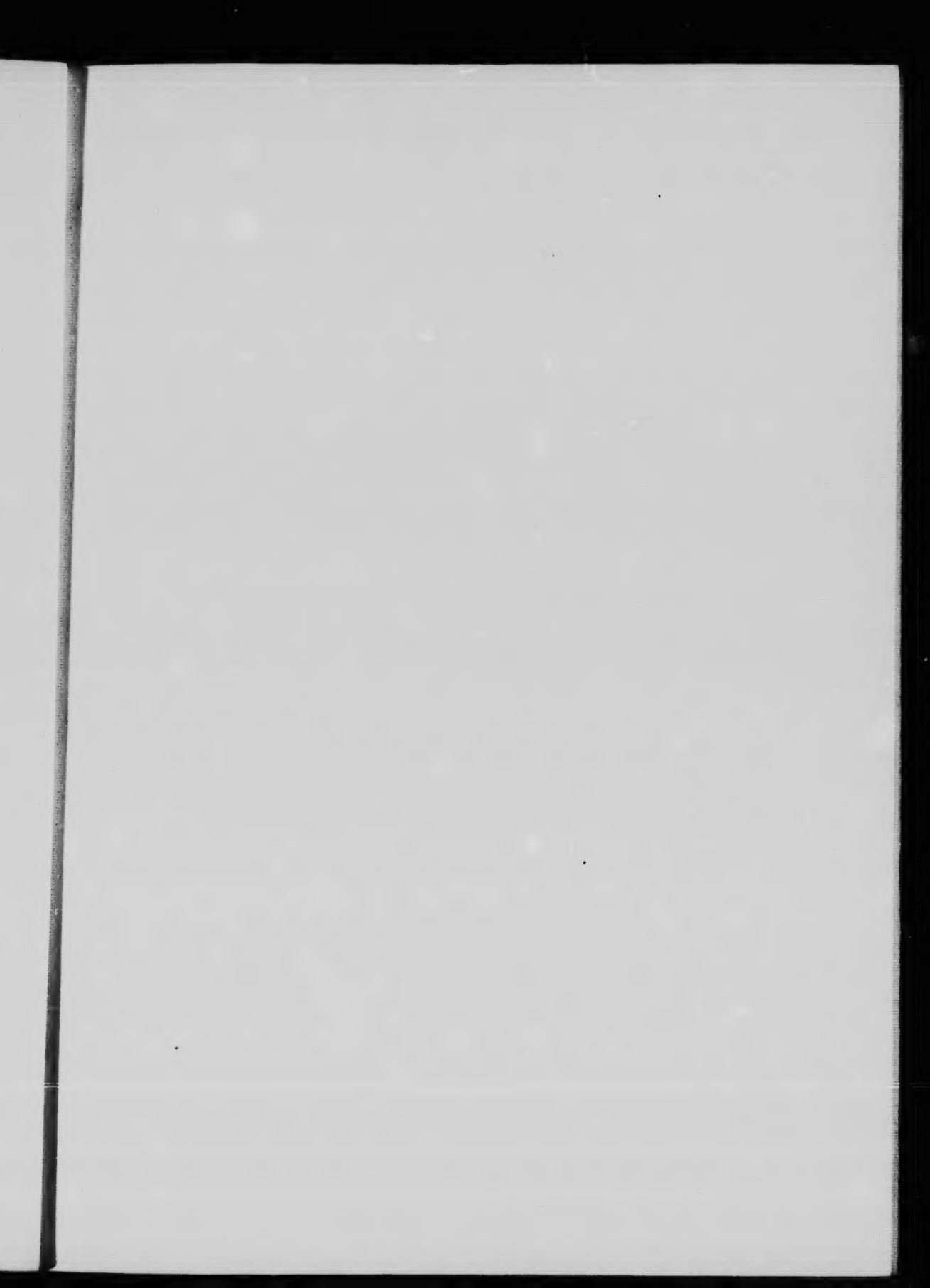






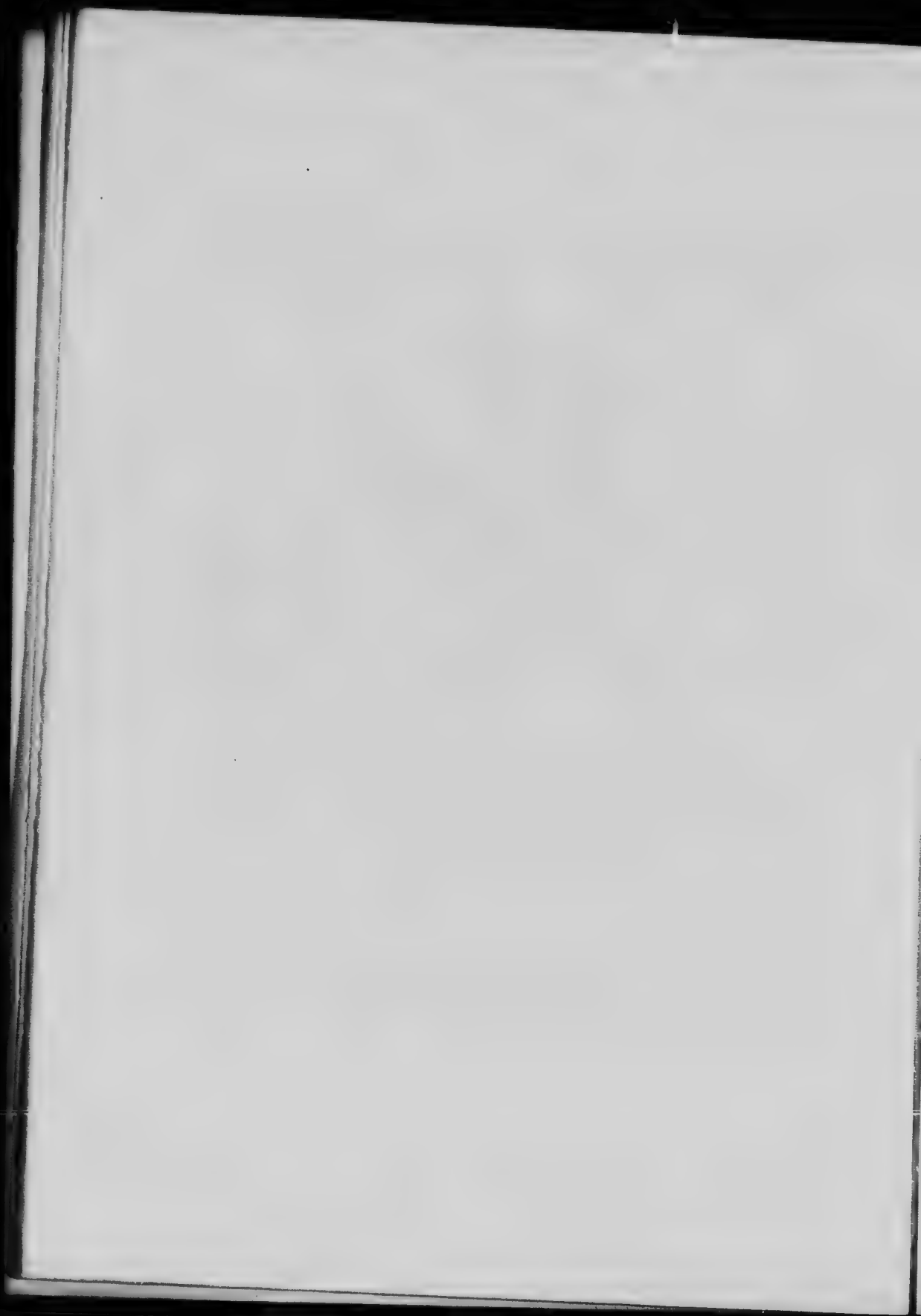
THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

AGENTS IN AMERICA
THE MACMILLAN COMPANY
66 FIFTH AVENUE, NEW YORK





GUERNSEY FLOWER-GIRL



Beautiful Britain

THE CHANNEL ISLANDS

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PREFACE

IN this volume all that I have attempted is to sketch the history of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark, pointing out a few of the many legends and traditions associated with them, the storm and stress through which they have battled, some of the remnants of feudalism which they have managed to preserve, and certain conspicuous men and women who once lived in them. I trust, therefore, that nobody will open the book in the hope of obtaining from it any original information with regard to the trade, the agriculture, the natural history, or the geological formation of the Channel Islands. Mr. Wimbush has painted them as they are—bathed in sunshine, radiant with flowers, busy and well-to-do in this prosperous if prosaic age : I have tried to recall “le souvenir des beaux jours envolés” of these “morceaux de France tombés à la mer et ramassés par l’Angleterre,” as Victor Hugo calls them.

Preface

For my facts, so far as they are taken from printed books, I am indebted mainly to the following writers :—

DUPONT, *Histoire du Cotentin et de ses Iles* (Caen, 1870).

DE LA CROIX, *Jersey, ses Antiquités, ses Institutions, son Histoire* (Jersey, 1861).

„ „ *La Ville de St. Helier* (Jersey, 1845).

„ „ *Les États* (Jersey, 1847).

HAVET, *Les Cours Royales des Iles Normandes* (Paris, 1878).

„ *Série Chronologique des Gardiens et Seigneurs des Iles Normandes*, included in the second volume of his *Opuscules Divers* (Paris, 1896).

SYVRET, *Chroniques des Iles de Jersey, Guernesey, etc.* (Guernsey, 1832).

PAYNE, *An Armorial of Jersey* (Jersey, 1865).

TUPPER, *The History of Guernsey and its Bailiwick*, 2nd ed. (Guernsey, 1876).

„ *The Chronicles of Castle Cornet* (Guernsey, 1851).

I have also derived much valuable information from the "Bulletins" and "Publications" of the Société Jersiaise (Jersey, 1873-1904). I also wish to acknowledge with sincere thanks the kindness I have received from several friends who have lent me rare books

Preface

and family manuscripts or have helped me with advice and suggestions.

The faults of omission and commission (of which nobody can be more painfully conscious than I am myself) may perhaps be explained by the fact that this book was necessarily written in little more than six months; and if that be not a sufficient excuse, I can only plead with the old writer that "who faulteth not, liueth not; who mendeth faults is commended; the Printer hath faulted a little; it may be the avthor ouer-sighted more. Thy paine (Reader) is the least; then erre not thov most by misconstrving or sharpe censvring; lest thov be more vncharitable than either of them hath been heedlesse."

E. F. C.

LE VALLON, GUERNSEY.
July 1904.

CONTENTS

CHAPTER I

WOODS AND CROMLECHS.	PAGE 1
------------------------------	-----------

CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF CIVILISATION	19
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER III

FIEFS AND FEUDAL TENURES	39
------------------------------------	----

CHAPTER IV

LAW COURTS AND OFFICIAL SEALS.	89
--	----

CHAPTER V

FROM THE PLANTAGENETS TO THE STUARTS	111
--	-----

CHAPTER VI

CHARLES II. IN JERSEY	123
---------------------------------	-----

CHAPTER VII

JERSEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY	147
--	-----

Contents

CHAPTER VIII	
THE ISLAND OF JERSEY	PAGE 159
CHAPTER IX	
GUERNSEY'S EARLY HISTORY	169
CHAPTER X	
GUERNSEY IN THE DAYS OF THE STUARTS	181
CHAPTER XI	
PRIVATEERING AND SMUGGLING	197
CHAPTER XII	
THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY	215
CHAPTER XIII	
"THE KEY OF THE CHANNEL"	229
CHAPTER XIV	
THE "GARDEN OF CYMODOCE"	251
CHAPTER XV	
THE LESSER ISLANDS	273

LIST OF ILLUSTRATIONS

1. Guernsey Flower-Girl	<i>Frontispiece</i>
	FACING PAGE
2. Breakers off Jethou Island	4
3. A Tulip Garden, Guernsey	6
4. La Cotte Point, St. Brelade's Bay, Jersey. (Evening glow)	8
5. St. Peter-Port, Guernsey, from the Pool	12
6. La Perrelle, Guernsey	16
7. Portelet Bay, Jersey	20
8. St. Aubin, Jersey	24
9. Farmhouse, Guernsey	28
10. Water Lane, Moulin Huet, Guernsey	32
11. Rough Sea, Noirmont Point, Jersey	36
12. Belcroute Bay, Jersey	38
13. St. Aubin, Jersey, from grounds of the Somerville Hotel	44
14. Fiquet Bay, Jersey	48
15. St. Ouen Manor, Jersey	52
16. Beau Port, Jersey	56
17. Field of Chrysanthemums, Guernsey, November 16th, 1903	60
18. Market Place, Guernsey	64
19. The Pea Stacks (Tas de Pois), Jerbourg, Guernsey	68
20. St. Martin's Church, Guernsey	72
21. Water Mill at Petit Bot, Guernsey	76
22. Moye Point, near Le Gouffre, Guernsey	80
23. Washing at a Stream at Vazon, Guernsey	84

List of Illustrations

	FACING PAGE
24. A Farmyard, Guernsey	88
25. Moored at St. Brelade, Jersey	92
26. L'Etac, Jersey	96
27. The Needle Rock, Grève au Lançon, Jersey	100
28. The Town Church, St. Peter-Port, Guernsey	104
29. La Cotte, St. Brelade, Jersey	108
30. Petit Portelet Bay, Jersey	110
31. Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey, from Petit Portelet Bay	116
32. Grosse Tête, Mont Fiquet, Jersey	120
33. Elizabeth Castle, Jersey	126
34. Point Le Groin, St. Brelade, Jersey	128
35. Trinity Manor, Jersey	132
36. Grosnez Point, Jersey (Sark in distance)	136
37. Grève au Lançon, Plemont, Jersey	140
38. Mont Fiquet, Jersey	144
39. Le Fret Point, Jersey	146
40. Belcroute Bay, Jersey	150
41. La Poulec, L'Etac, Jersey	154
42. Old Jersey Woman	158
43. La Corbière Lighthouse, Jersey	162
44. By the Sandy Shore, Jersey	164
45. Mont Orgueil Castle, Jersey	168
46. Ladies' Bathing Place, St. Peter-Port, Guernsey	172
47. Petit Bot Valley, Guernsey	176
48. Guernsey from Fort George	180
49. Cliffs near Le Gouffre, Guernsey	184
50. The Twelve o'clock Gun, Castle Cornet, Guernsey	188
51. Cornet Street, Guernsey	192
52. Lion Rock, Cobo, Guernsey	196
53. Moulin Huet, Guernsey	200
54. Wishing Well, Forest Parish, Guernsey	204
55. Petit Bot Bay, Guernsey	208
56. Berthelot Street, St. Peter-Port, Guernsey	212

List of Illustrations

	FACING PAGE
57. St. Peter-Port from the White Rock, Guernsey	218
58. St. Sampson's Church, Guernsey	220
59. La Haye du Puits, Guernsey	224
60. High Street, St. Peter-Port, Guernsey	228
61. La Nache, Rocks off Alderney	232
62. A Guernsey Girl	236
63. Dixcart Bay, Sark	240
64. Road to Creux Harbour, Sark	244
65. The Sister Rocks, Alderney	248
66. The Creux Harbour, Sark	250
67. Port du Moulin from the Seigneurie grounds, Sark	254
68. The Coupée, Sark	256
69. The West Coast of Sark	260
70. Tardif's Cottage, Sark	264
71. Les Autelets, Sark	268
72. The Tintageu and Île des Marchands, Sark	272
73. Herm and Jethou from the Salerie Battery, Guernsey	276
74. View from Old Government House Hotel, Guernsey	280
75. Bordeaux Harbour, Guernsey	284
76. Casquet Rocks and Lighthouse	286

*The Illustrations in this volume were engraved in England by the
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CHAPTER I
FLOODS AND CROMLECHS

The woods of the trees of the field went forth, and took counsel together, and said, Come, let us go and make war against the sea, that it may depart away before us, and that we may make us more woods. The waves of the sea also in like manner took counsel together, and said, Come, let us go up and subdue the wood of the plain, that there also we may make us another country. The counsel of the wood was in vain, for the fire came and consumed it: likewise also the counsel of the waves of the sea, for the sand stood up and stopped them.

CHAPTER I

FLOODS AND CROMLECHS

OFF the coast of the Cotentin, to the north of the Bay of Mont St. Michel, is to be found a group of islands, surrounded by islets, rocks, and reefs. These islands are called by the English the Channel Islands, by the French *Les Iles Normandes*. The group is composed of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, Sark, Herm, and Jethou, and a few minor rocks.

Jersey and Guernsey have each its own Court and Code of laws, and politically and socially their history is quite distinct. Alderney and Sark are included in the bailiwick of Guernsey. Herm and Jethou have no special administration, and are considered as detached portions of Guernsey territory.

Although the Islands lie so close to one another, there is very little real intercourse between them, and it frequently happens that a resident of either of the larger islands has never visited any of the other members of the group.

Situated, as they are, at the gateway of England,

The Channel Islands

the Channel Islands are certainly much less well known than many far more distant archipelagoes.

To the average Briton "Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark" are situated "somewhere" in the English Channel, all touching each other, or at least so close that the inhabitants of one island must necessarily meet the inhabitants of all the other islands at least twice a week. Of their history he is absolutely ignorant, so much so that only last year some well-dressed and apparently educated people were overheard seriously discussing the question whether the Islands belonged to France or England. Their climate he supposes to be so hot that fires and warm clothes are superfluities, and when he arrives in midwinter, dressed in summer garments, expecting to find oranges and grapes in every hedgerow and grove, and meets a cutting east wind, and possibly snow upon the ground, he starts with a sense of personal injury from which it takes him a long while to recover.

The following pages will perhaps show that these islands, both historically and intrinsically, merit more attention than has generally been given to them.

That they are the oldest possessions of the British Crown is evident from the fact that they comprise the only territory remaining to England of the old Duchy of Normandy. The predecessor of our Sovereign was Duke of Normandy ere he was King of England, and as Duke he ruled that little archipelago off the Norman Coast which, alone of all their once fair French provinces, has been retained by the

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BREAKERS OFF JETHOU ISLAND



Floods and Cromlechs

monarchs who were so long styled the rulers of "Great Britain, France, and Ireland."

They helped under William to conquer England in the year 1066, and ever since have remained loyal to the English kings as representatives of their Norman dukes.

In the earliest ages the Islands are supposed to have been detached piecemeal from the Continent by a series of convulsions of nature, either volcanic or in the form of vast tidal waves, which swept over and overwhelmed the low-lying portions of the Channel.

The date of the original catastrophe was at one time supposed to be the year A.D. 709, but later evidence leads us to suppose that it took place in prehistoric times, probably even before the building of the cromlechs.

It is certain that up to a comparatively late period the Islands were very much larger than they are now, and were surrounded, if not covered, by a large forest—the Forest of Scissy.

At Vazon Bay, off the west coast of Guernsey, at low tide, vast beds of peat—or what is locally known as "gorban"¹—are disclosed. This substance is described as being firm and perfectly dry, composed entirely of oak, hazel, willow, and other trees, with their leaves mixed with soil. In it also have been found birds' nests, pottery, a portion of a stone bangle

¹ From the Hebrew or Jewish word signifying "a gift." "It is Corban, that is to say, a gift" (Mark vii. 11).

The Channel Islands

and some celts, together with the bones of dogs, oxen, hogs, and stags. No trace of iron being found in any of these deposits leads to the supposition that they date from the Neolithic age.

Then there may have been a lull of many centuries, and again the forests grew round and over the Islands—forests into which swine were sent to fatten on acorns in autumn, and on which a certain duty, called *pesnage*, was payable to the lord of the manor, as the records show to this day. Since then the sea has crept up slowly but remorselessly, and has swallowed up more and more of the Islands.

Some of the most ancient and authentic accounts of the Islands in early times are found in the "Extents" or rent rolls drawn up at various times by special Commissioners for different Kings of England. The Extents state at length the insular customs and servitudes, and the list of names they give of lords, jurats, and landowners makes them invaluable both for historical and genealogical purposes; in fact, they are our local "Domesday Books." The first of these Extents is dated 1248,¹ followed by a far more exhaustive one in 1331 drawn up by Robert de Norton and Guillaume de la Rue for Edward III. In it we find the King's tenants in St. Sampson's parish objecting to pay dues on four *bouvées*, or about twenty acres of land, on the ground that they had been

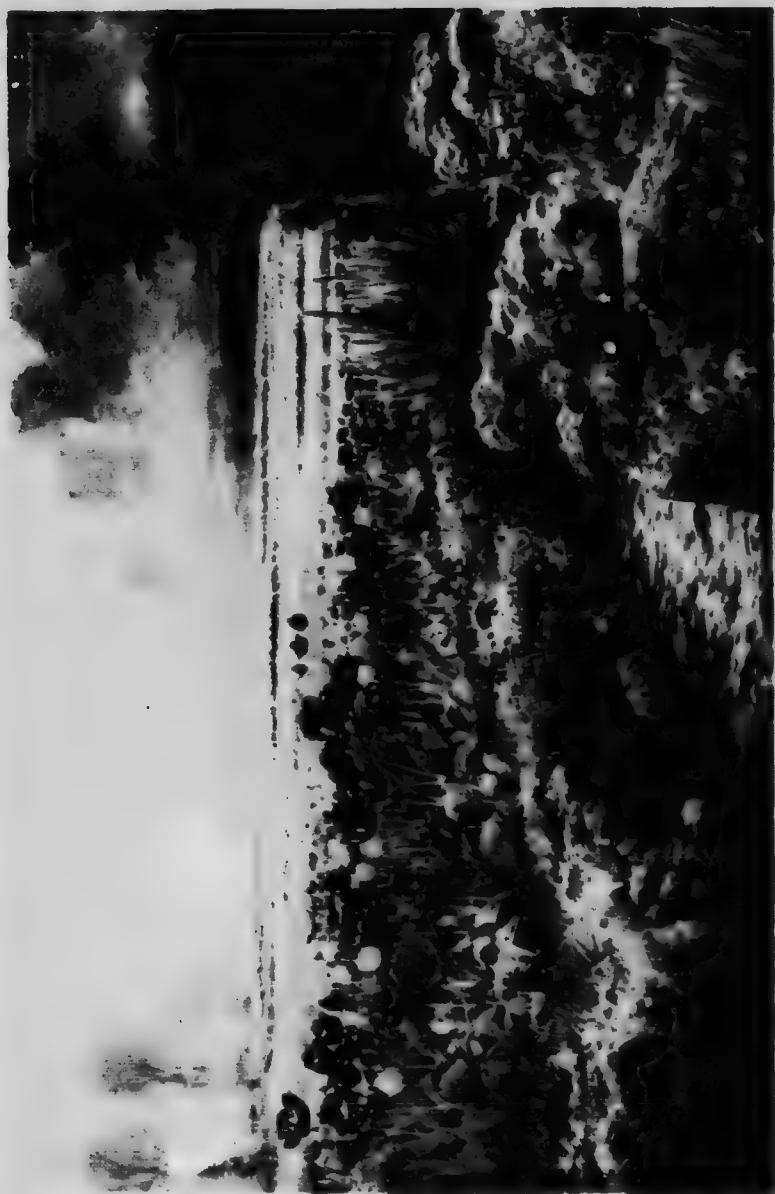
¹ There appear to have been in all five Extents of the bailiwick of Guernsey—viz., those dated 1248, 1274, 1331, 1582, and 1607 (*Remarks on the Constitution of Guernsey*, by T. F. de H., pp. 24-5 and 104).

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A TULIP GARDEN, GUERNSEY



Floods and Cromlechs

destroyed by the sea—"détruites par la mer," as John Bonamy, Procureur du Roi, translated it from the original Latin in 1498.

In a manuscript in the British Museum,¹ attributed to Mr. Poingdestre, of Jersey, and dated 1685, we learn that "it is an acknowledged fact that within the last three hundred and fifty years the sea has conquered the richest part of the parish of St. Ouen—namely, the valley now merged in the Bay of St. Ouen, which valley originally belonged to a gentleman named Wallis, who had inherited it as well as many other lands from his wife, Eleanor de Chesney, 'fille Guillaume, fils Nicholas, fils Guillaume,'" Sir William de Chesney, the original "Guillaume," having been granted these lands by Henry III. of England. His manor-house, called the Manor de la Brequette, and its surrounding forest was swallowed up by the sea in the frightful hurricane of 1359, when the hailstones slew men and horses and made men deem the end of the world at hand. After this catastrophe Wallis retreated farther inland to the parish of St. Laurent, "where he built a castle, now in ruins, called the Château de St. Germain; which château remained in the Wallis family until Geoffrey Wallis, son of Raulin, was killed when fighting under the Earl of Warwick at the Battle of Barnet, Easter Day, 1471."²

The lands called the Quenvais in Jersey are an

¹ Harleian Collection, No. 5417.

² Soc. Jers. 8^{me} Bulletin, p. 386.

The Channel Islands

instance of the encroachments of the sea-sand. They are a small district in the parish of St. Brelade's which, in the midst of the highest fertility, presents the appearance of an Arabian sandy desert. Tradition says that they were overwhelmed in 1495 as a divine punishment for the inhumanity of the inhabitants, who plundered five Spanish vessels wrecked there on November 25th ; but evidence goes to prove that they were overwhelmed, at least partially, at a much earlier date.

The Bretons have a superstition that a man who has once been rescued from the waves is bound to return to them at last ; the sea, having once owned her victim, will never let him escape, but will lie in wait for him even for years till she finally recovers him. And it is the same with the land ; in vain is it fenced in with dykes and sea-walls :—

Ninefold deep to the top of the dykes the galloping breakers
stride,
And their over-carried spray is a sea—a sea on the landward side.
Coming, like stallions they paw with their hooves, going they
snatch with their teeth,
Till the bents and the furze and the sand are dragged out, and
the old-time wattles beneath !

The only records we have of the earliest inhabitants of the Islands are the stone monuments, or *pouque-layes*¹ as they are locally called, which are to be

¹ Either from the Celtic words *pwca*, fairy, and *lies*, lieu, or place, or from *pouq*, hole, excavation, and *lekh*, stone—pierced stone—*pierre percée*, which is a frequent synonym for these very monuments.

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LA COTTE POINT, ST. BRELADE'S BAY, JERSEY (EVENING GLOW)

ow)



Floods and Cromlechs

found in each member of the group. To every Channel Islander they are known to be the haunt of witches and evil spirits and the abode of fairies, after whom, indeed, some of them—notably the Creux des Fées in Guernsey and the Roche à la Fée in Jersey—are named. Who knows what dim memories of old past races, pagans, and worshippers of devils—

Shapes that coiled in the woods and waters,
Glittering sons and radiant daughters—

these old beliefs may embody ?

The only enemy these old monuments have to fear is the sacrilegious hand of man. Centuries have passed over their heads, civilisations and creeds have come and gone ; but neither "heat nor frost nor thunder" can affect them, and if only the ignorant labourer can be taught to leave them intact they will still be there when

All our pomp of yesterday,
Is one with Nineveh and Tyre.

In the middle of the eighteenth century over fifty of these monuments were to be found in Jersey alone, though most of them have since disappeared by the hand of the builder and stonemason, and of the survivors "two have been restored after the ideas of a reverend amateur."¹

¹ "Prehistoric Remains in the Channel Islands," by Lieut. S. P. Oliver, R.A., F.R.G.S., in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, April 1870.

The Channel Islands

The most noted of them all was the one discovered in 1785 while the surface of the hill behind St. Helier was being levelled for the purpose of forming a parade. It had apparently been covered with earth by the Druids, or whatever race that name may represent, to rescue it from destruction by the Romans, or perhaps an even earlier invader. When exposed to view, this monument "comprised a collection of stones arranged in a circular manner, the exterior periphery of which was seventy-two feet. This circle was formed by six small cromlechs, from three nearly to five feet in height, and the same in length, separated from each other by upright stones, mostly in a kind of triangular form, and varying in height from four to seven feet, with the exception of one, the height of which was only eighteen inches;¹ this was opposite to the north, and is supposed to have been designed for a more common entrance than that in the eastern front. The principal opening fronted the east, and was through a covered passage, eight feet long and three feet wide; on the left of this was a smaller stone about fourteen inches high. In some of the cells ashes were found, and in one of them, which was nearly opposite the entrance, were evident traces of smoke; this cell differed also from the others; instead of being covered with a flat stone, the superior surface of its upper one was extremely irregular, and apparently little calculated to hold a victim; . . . it is probable that this cavity

¹ "The heights are according to the measurements above-ground; the stones are doubtless much longer."

Floods and Cromlechs

contained the sacred fire from which the altars were supplied.

"The *pouquelaye* was encircled with a dwarf wall three feet in height and 128 feet in circumference, having four lateral steps on the outside and three within. . . .

"The States of Jersey, in a moment of enthusiasm, unanimously voted this monument to Marshal Conway, then Governor of Jersey, who caused it to be removed to Park Place, near Henley, in Berkshire, and there had it erected, exactly (as it is said) according to its original form, and conformably to its real dimensions, though several stones were broken in displacing them. . . . The Marshal did not escape severe censure for having accepted so valuable a token of esteem, which, however retaining its pristine appearance, lost that consequence which it derived from its original position."¹

It is difficult to imagine that any body of men could be so hopelessly lost to all sense of the value and historic interest of these relics of the past as were the States of Jersey at that period. But then—and, alas! for many a long year afterwards—the authorities in all the Islands were equally ignorant and careless of all the ancient buildings and ancestral monuments committed to their charge; and had any other Governor expressed the slightest desire to travel with an entire cromlech included in his luggage, it is certain that the Guernsey States would with equal

¹ *History of Jersey*, by Plees, pp. 135-8.

The Channel Islands

cheerfulness have voted him any or all of those remaining in the island, and probably have offered him Castle Cornet as well.

Jersey also contained a logan or rocking stone which was situated at Les Landes Pallot, in St. Saviour's parish. It is described by an old writer¹ as "roundish, very big, and bearing on the natural rock underneath with so just a counterpoise that a child might stir it with a finger, when the united strength of many people could not move it from its place. Means, however, have been found (as I am informed) to cast it down, for the sake of the splinters to be employed in building."

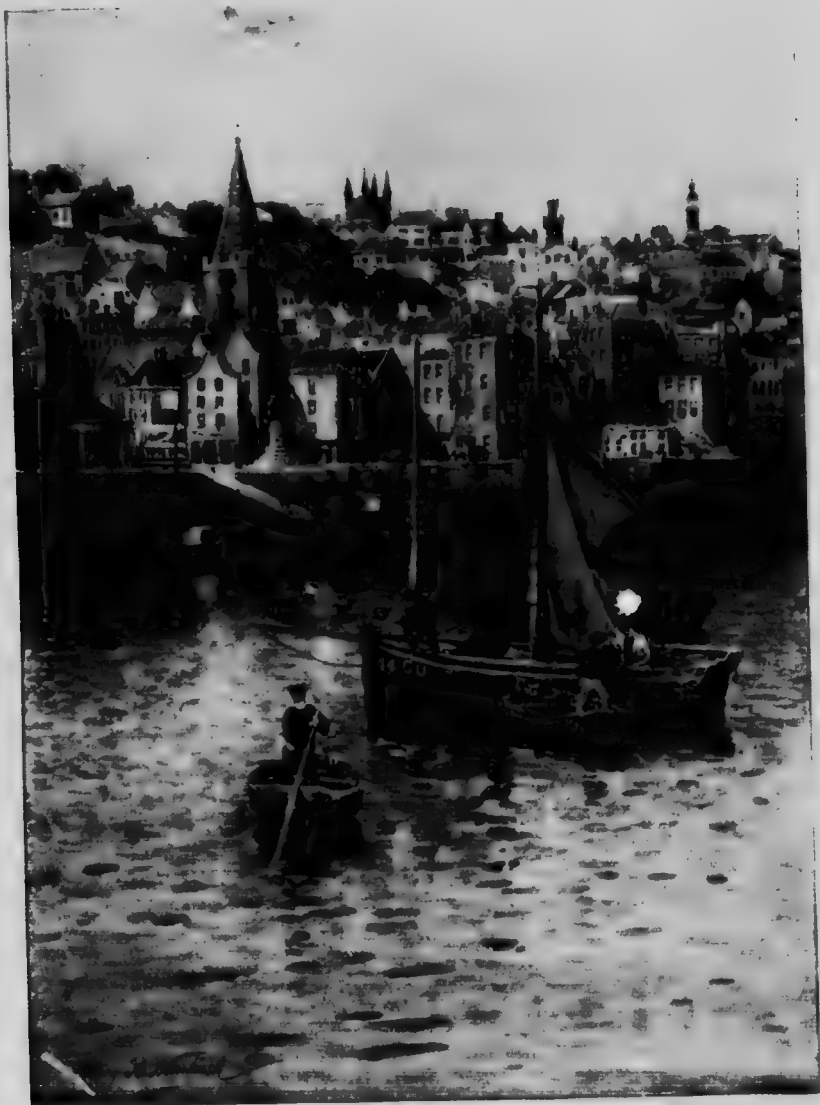
In 1852, when Mr. J. P. Ahier wrote his *Tableaux Historiques de la Civilisation à Jersey*, there appears to have been only one complete cromlech still extant in that island—the one situated above Anne Port. He describes it² as being a sort of horseshoe composed of nine upright stones sustaining an enormous flat block of granite. When it was investigated, a great quantity of children's bones were found, and in the northern angle three skeletons, two of men and one of a woman, in a state of perfect preservation. They were all of people of small stature, but the absence of the skulls unfortunately made it impossible to come to any definite conclusion as to the races which originally peopled the Islands.

A few other detached monuments have been unearthed since then, and in them have been found

¹ Note to Falle's *Jersey*, 3rd ed. pp. 136-7.

² P. 30.

ST. PETER-PORT, GUERNSEY, FROM THE POOL





Floods and Cromlechs

earthenware vases, stone axes, and celts, a large quantity of amulets or holed stones, and a *débris* of half-burned bones.

Guernsey equally had its dolmens and menhirs, most of which also from time to time have been shockingly mutilated or destroyed. One of the most prominent of them must have been the Rocque de l'Hyvreuse, situated where Victoria Tower now stands. This spot was sold by Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners in 1563 to Mr. Nicholas Carey, Her Majesty's Receiver-General, who was granted permission by them to erect a mill upon "ladite Rocque de l'Hyvreuse." This mill was destroyed in 1846, when the Victoria Tower was built.

Of those remaining, L'Autel des Vardes on L'Ancrese Common is one of the most interesting. It was discovered in the first decade of the nineteenth century by some soldiers when building a redout.¹

Not far from this is L'Autel de Déhus,² which is still partially surrounded by the tumulus which originally covered it. In it were discovered two kneeling skeletons, one facing north and the other south, and a quantity of other bones.

The Longue Pierre, or menhir, at Les Paysans,

¹ A fully illustrated account of this and some of the other cromlechs of Guernsey was communicated to the London Society of Antiquaries in 1811 by Mr. Joshua Gosselin, who was the pioneer of all the local antiquaries and botanists.

² So called from the Teus or Theus, a nocturnal spectre, of which it was supposed to be the abode (*Dict. Franco-Normand*, by G. Métivier).

The Channel Islands

in St. Saviour's parish ; the Creux ès Féés in St. Pierre-du-Bois, which is a specimen of what the French call an *allée couverte* ; and the Catioc near L'Erée, noted as being the especial haunt of the local witches, are types of the remains which were once so abundant in the island. Fortunately for their preservation, the belief is widely spread amongst the peasantry that it is extremely unlucky to meddle with them, as thereby the wrath of the spirits who inhabit this locality is incurred ; and the remarkable series of misfortunes that followed the demolition of what was said to have been the largest of the cromlechs—La Rocque qui Sonne—culminating in the deaths of nearly all concerned in the matter, has intensified this feeling.¹ No amount of superstitious dread, however, availed to save two most interesting menhirs, one called La Chaise au Prêtre or de St. Bonit, and the other La Pierre Pointue, both in that neighbourhood, from destruction. When the Chevauchée went through the island with the officers of the ancient Court of the Fief St. Michel, the cavalcade were entertained, and dances were performed, around the latter monument.

In Alderney the navvies employed on the Admiralty Works amused themselves by smashing up all the megaliths that they could lay their hands on.

In Herm the quarrymen of a granite company in like manner destroyed most of the stones of the numerous cromlechs and circles which abound in that

¹ See *Guernsey Folklore*, by Sir Edgar MacCulloch, pp. 115-17.

Floods and Cromlechs

small island. Of the remaining fragments, Mr. Lukis¹ began a tour of exploration in 1841.

In one of the kists were found ten adult skulls, arranged in two sets of five at either end. "During Mr. Lukis's absence these skulls were despoiled of their teeth by an enterprising dentist, who happened to be the guest of the proprietor. He found the enamel to be of such superior quality that he thought they would make excellent false teeth."²

In Sark one insignificant portion of a kist alone remains extant, though doubtless they were originally very numerous.

And who built the cromlechs? and for what object? are the questions that inevitably present themselves as we see these huge masses of stone, apparently raised by a race of Titans. The Rev. Richard Bellis contributed a very interesting paper on "The Primitive Ethnology of Jersey" to the *Société Jersiaise* in 1887.³ He says: "From a personal observation of the bones and cinerary urns found at the stone structures excavated in connection with our Society, I have been led to the conclusion that the structures themselves must have been erected before these deposits took place. As regards the bones, they must have been deposited within a period of some

¹ The noted Guernsey antiquary, to whom the island is indebted for the preservation of its few remaining dolmens.

² "Prehistoric Remains in the Channel Islands," printed in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London*, vol. ii. No. 1 (April 1870).

³ 12^{mo} Bulletin, p. 177.

The Channel Islands

two thousand years ; for they would not have continued in so comparatively sound a state had they lain there much longer. But as to the original structures themselves, there need be no such limit to their age. They may have been erected at any time since the Deluge. The burials, therefore, and the structures must not be regarded as coeval. The structures may have been raised as temples, or altars, by one primæval race, and may afterwards have been used as burial-places by an entirely different and much later race. . . . The remarkable feature of most of them is that they consist of *unhewn* blocks, many of them of great size. . . . In Exodus xx. 25 we meet with the following precept : ' And if thou wilt make Me an altar of stone, thou shalt not build it of *hewn* stone : for if thou lift up thy tool upon it, thou hast polluted it.' This command, like many others of the Mosaic code, must, by its nature, have been only a recapitulation of a rule which existed previously, from the first institution of sacrifices." The inference Mr. Bellis drew from this was that these monuments were originally raised as altars by some race most nearly connected with patriarchal times, possibly by the Turanian descendants of Japheth. They were subsequently utilised for the worship of Baal and Moloch, of Jupiter and Mars, of Thor and Odin, by the successive nations of Phœnicians, Romans, and Danes who at different times peopled the Channel Islands, until finally Christianity was introduced, and churches and chapels superseded these old temples. Yet who

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LA PERRELLE, GUERNSEY



Floods and Cromlechs

knows for how many centuries the old worship survived, and was practised in secret by a band of votaries gradually decreasing and becoming more and more corrupt? Even as late as the eighteenth century the Guernsey and Jersey witches and warlocks used to meet at these cromlechs, the Catoroc in Guernsey and the Rocque Berg in Jersey, and perform secret rites and ceremonies which, though degraded and perverted after so many centuries of use, and though the actors knew no more what they really meant or symbolised than did the outside world, were undoubted survivals of dead faiths and primitive cults.

The pagan's myths through marble lips are spoken,
And ghosts of old beliefs still flit and moan
Round fane and altar, overgrown and broken,
O'er tree-grown barrow and grey ring of stone.

CHAPTER II
THE DAWN OF CIVILISATION

Mark ! how all things swerve
From their known course or vanish like a dream ;
Another language spreads from coast to coast ;
Only perchance some melancholy stream
And some indignant hills old names preserve,
When laws, and creeds and people all are lost !
—*Ecclesiastical Sketches* (WORDSWORTH).

FORTELET BAY, JERSEY



CHAPTER II

THE DAWN OF CIVILISATION

NOT many evidences are left of the Roman occupation of the Islands. Jersey and Guernsey are supposed to owe their original names of *Cæsarea* and *Sarnia* respectively to these conquerors ; and from a nearly perfect series of Roman coins unearthed at different periods in Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and Sark it is evident that there was at least a constant intercourse between their inhabitants and Italy from the reign of Caligula to that of Honorius.

A Roman author, named Demetrius, after describing a visit he made to Britain in the suite of the Emperor Claudius in the year 43, says : " Among the islands which lie adjacent to Britain some are desert, known by the name of the Isles of Heroes or of Demons. Being desirous of seeing these islands, I embarked in the suite of the Emperor, who was about to visit the nearest of them (? Alderney). He found thereon but few inhabitants, and those were accounted sacred and inviolable. Saturn is imprisoned in a neighbouring isle, where he reposes, chained in a glittering rock with golden fetters, under the guardianship of Briareus,

The Channel Islands

and surrounded by a host of Heroes, or Illustrious Dead, who attend upon him."¹

This "golden cave" has been identified with the Creux des Varous in Guernsey, which extends, according to tradition, from Houmet to L'Erée, and is a subterranean cavern formed of rock sprinkled with an abundance of yellow mica, sparkling like gold.

"Old people," as Sir Edgar MacCulloch tells us,² "remember that it used to be said in their youth that 'Le Char des Varous' was to be heard, rolling with silver-tyred wheels over the cliffs and rocks between Houmet and the castle of Albecq, before the death of any of the great ones of the earth, and how this supernatural warning was sure to be followed by violent storms and tempests."

Under Childebert, one of the sons of Clovis and King of Neustria (as Normandy was then called), the conversion to Christianity of the Channel Islands was begun. In the Islands every sort of paganism prevailed at that time, especially in the forms of sun, tree, and water worship, for the primitive man "imprints for ever his presence on all lifeless things," and

The troll and gnome and dwerg
And the gods of cliff and berg,

were always with him. In those days there was a per-

¹ See *The Monthly Selection*, pp. 326-9 (M. Métivier's "Letters on the Early History of Guernsey").

² *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 231-2.

³ From the Breton word "varw" the dead chieftain, according to Métivier, who also, in his *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*, gives it a-

The Dawn of Civilisation

petual interchange of men and ideas between Brittany and Normandy on the one hand, and Ireland and Great Britain on the other. Almost all the early Bas Breton "saints" (as these missionaries were generally termed) were either born or brought up in Ireland, Cornwall, or Wales, and they must indeed have had great courage and devotion to trust themselves, as they did, upon the stormy waters of the Channel in the frail barks of that period.

The first of these missionaries to visit the Islands was St. Marcouf, who came to Jersey in 540, and was so successful that he established a religious community in the northern part of the island, probably on the site afterwards occupied by the priory of Bonne Nuit. He was succeeded by St. Sampson, who, after being educated in Glamorgan by St. Illtud, was driven out of England by the Saxons and took refuge in Normandy, where he was made Archbishop of Dol, his diocese including the islands of Jersey, Guernsey, and Sark.¹

Bent on conversion, St. Sampson embarked for Guernsey, and having landed at the harbour which still bears his name, he there caused a chapel to be built, and established a rector and other priests to carry on the work he had begun. He was summoned to Paris to attend an ecclesiastical synod in 557, and his

equivalent to "garou," "loup-garou," meaning "were-wolf." Le Hericher, in his *Histoire et Glossaire du Normand*, derives it from the Latin *vir*, a man, and says that in La Manche "porter le varou" means to be harassed by nightmares or even vampires. The word is a curious instance of the early beliefs in metempsychosis.

¹ *Vie des Saints de Bretagne*, p. 304.

The Channel Islands

signature of "Samson—a sinner" is recorded with those of the other bishops.¹

In the meantime the remaining portion of Jersey was being converted by St. Helier, a disciple of St. Marcouf. He started his mission in Jersey in 555, and there built a hermitage upon a rock, which in those days was surrounded by marshes and meadows, all of them now submerged and forming part of St. Aubin's Bay. But in 559 he was massacred by the chieftain of a horde of Saxon or Danish pirates who invaded the island, and thus he became Jersey's first Christian martyr.

In Mr. Poingdestre's manuscript in the British Museum² already quoted this hermitage is thus described: "There is a little Islet, or rather a Rock, at a Bowshot distance from ye New-Castle,³ more into the sea, called St. Helerye's Island, in ye fashion of an Ermitage where his Cell remains to this day, hewen into the rock, with a Couch of the same rock, where he is sayd to have passed his dayes in great hardship; which Cell hath ben in times pass't much frequented by pilgrims from farre and neere upon ye score of devotion.

"Sir Thomas Morgan in his last yeere did cause that Rocke to be fortifyed and planted ordinance upon it. The Towne Church and Parish are dedicated to this Saint and beare his name; and soe did ye Church

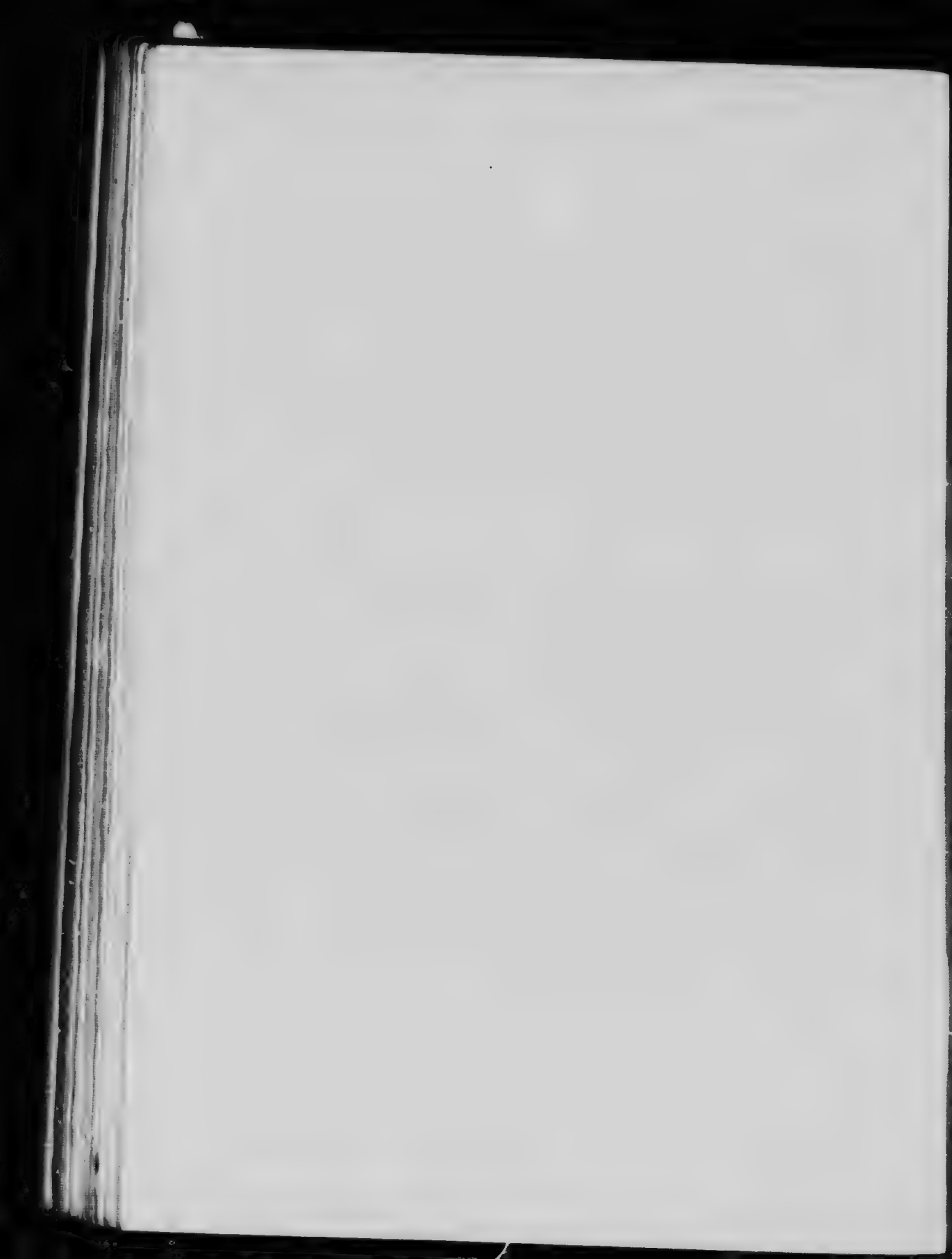
¹ *Jersey, Ses Antiquités*, by De la Croix, t. i. p. 148.

² Harleian MSS. No. 5417.

³ Elizabeth Castle.

ST. AUDIN, JERSEY





The Dawn of Civilisation

and Abbey which was built in ye place where nowe is ye Lower Guard of Elizabeth Castle, which Church was much commended for goodnesse of structure ; and ye quire of it remained entire till ye siede of 1651 by Colonell Haines, when it was quite ruined by ye fall of a Bombe through the rooffe of it downe to a roome whiche had been made under it full of powder, which tooke and blewe it up, and with it neere foure score men."¹

In close vicinity to this hermitage, the Abbey of St. Helier was founded in 1125 by Guillaume Hamon, a rich Norman seigneur, who, claiming to be a descendant of the northern chieftain who had murdered the saint, richly endowed the Abbey as an expiation for the sins of his ancestor. This Abbey was affiliated to the Abbey of Notre Dame du Vœu at Cherbourg in 1184, and appropriated to the Crown by Henry VIII. ; it was demolished, and the fortifications of Elizabeth Castle were begun in the year 1551. To help towards the payment for this new fortress the bells in every Church, one excepted, were taken down and sold, realising the sum of £171 9s.² But the ship which was conveying these bells to France foundered in the harbour, and everything was lost, which showed the wrath of Heaven at this sacrilege. "Since then, before a storm these bells always ring up from the deep ; and to this day the fishermen of St. Ouen's Bay always go to the

¹ Printed in the 10th Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise.

² *Jersey, Ses Antiquités*, by Dr. la Croix, t. I. p. 219.

The Channel Islands

edge of the water before embarking, to listen if they can 'hear the bells upon the wind,' and if those warning notes are heard, nothing will induce them to leave the shore."¹

Up from the heart of the ocean
The mellow music peals,
Where the sunlight makes its golden path
And the seagull flits and wheels.

For many a chequered century
Untired by flying time,
The bells no human fingers touch
Have rung their hidden chime.

The extraordinary superstitions of the Middle Ages concerning bells are well known. One of the most generally believed was that they had power over the elements :

Lightning and thunder I break asunder,
The winds so fierce I do disperse,

was one of the mottoes often found on old bells, and it was literally believed to be true. In fact, in the prayer of consecration said over each bell after it had been christened and "received into the Church," the priest said : "Where this bell hangs may the attacks of enemies be brought to naught, the malice of ghosts, the incursion of whirlwinds, the strokes of thunderbolts, the flames of lightning, and the assault of

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 1st Series, vol. xi. (April 7th, 1855). The same legend is told of Whitby Abbey bells. See *Legends and Traditions of Yorkshire*, by the Rev. Thomas Parkinson, p. 29.

The Dawn of Civilisation

tempests"; and the bell was commanded to "protect all those who are within hearing of thy chime." Thus the origin of this legend is easy to trace.

But we have wandered far from our patron saints. St. Sampson was succeeded in the bishopric of Dol by his nephew, St. Magloire.

According to tradition St. Magloire had been given the greater part of the island of Sark by a Count Loyesco—one of the Armorican chieftains who in those days were successively owners of the Islands—in gratitude for a miraculous cure which the saint had wrought. So to Sark St. Magloire repaired, and there he founded a monastery and a school, to which youths were sent from Normandy, Brittany, and even Great Britain.

At this time Guernsey was owned by a chief called Nivo, who, hearing of St. Magloire's fame, asked him to come over and cure his daughter, who was dumb. St. Magloire performed this miracle, and in return Nivo granted him a third of Guernsey. This induced St. Magloire to come to the island and build a chapel in the Vale parish, which has long ago fallen into ruins; and he also founded chapels in Jersey and Herm. He then went back to his monastery in Sark, where he died.

Other early "saints" came and went between Britain and the Islands—St. Patern, St. Aubin, and St. Brelade, who has been identified with the Irish saint, Brandon. Pretextat, Archbishop of Rouen, who had incurred the wrath of Frédégonde, wife of King

The Channel Islands

Chilperic, was exiled to Jersey, and undoubtedly the presence of an Archbishop of the Church must have materially assisted the process of conversion in the Islands, though it is to St. Marcouf, St. Helier, St. Sampson, and St. Magloire that we are principally indebted for the blessings of Christianity and civilisation.

But the years to come did not bring peace. Hordes of wild pirates from the far north came down upon the Islands time after time, burning, pillaging, and conquering. As Wace, the historian-poet of Jersey, says :

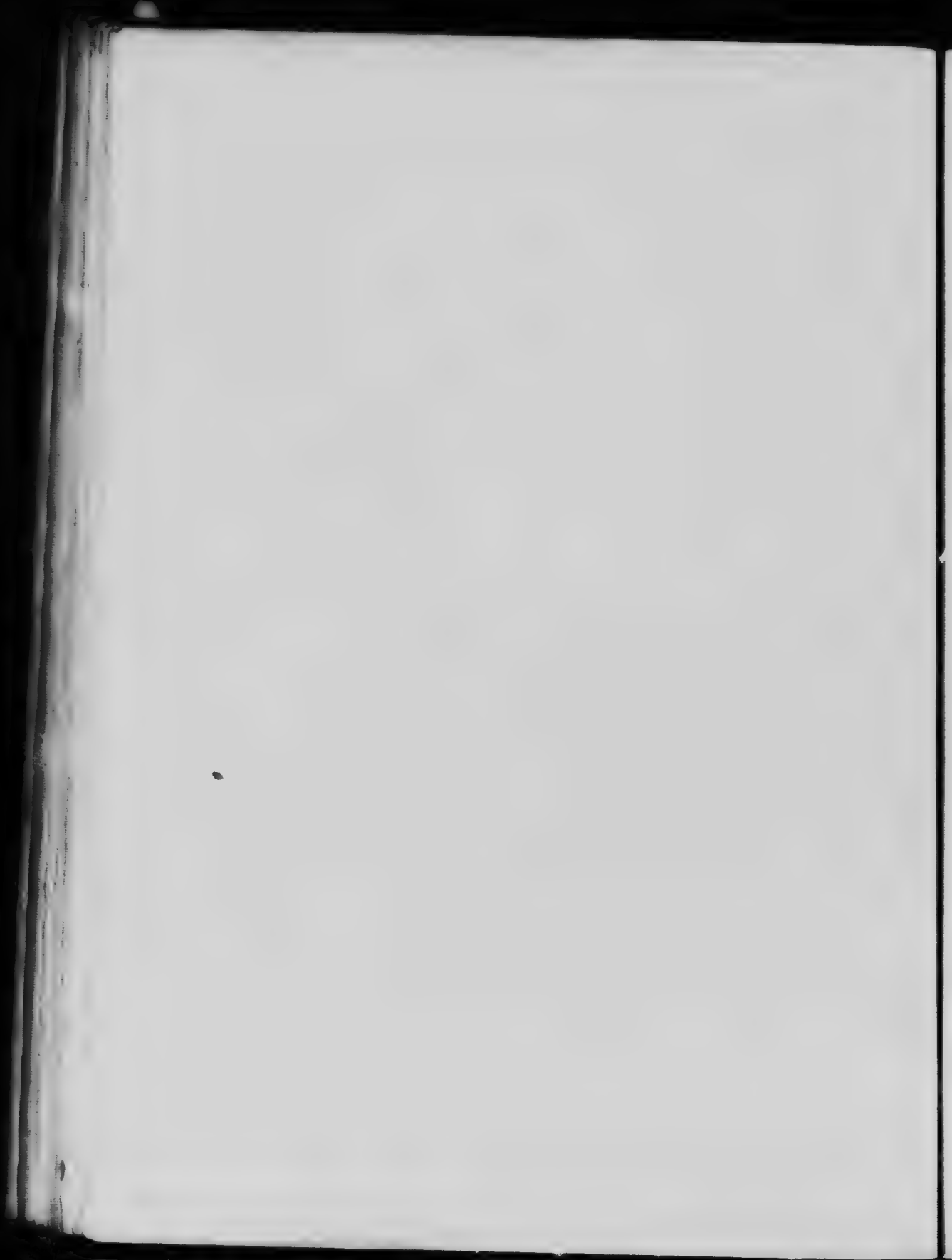
De sa gent è de sa contrée
En plusieurs liex part la ruine,
Ke firent la gent Sarrazine
En Aureni, en Guernesî,
En Saire, en Erin, en Gersi.¹

It is noticeable that Wace speaks of these tribes of barbarians as "*la gent Sarrazine*"; the old French word "*Sarrazin*" implying any foreigner or alien, who need not necessarily be of Eastern origin. There is an old French translation of the Bible, of the year 1543, containing a running commentary on the text, and of Exodus xvii. 8—"Then came Amalek, and fought with Israel in Rephidim"—the "*Glose*" says: "*Strabus dit que Amalek fut filz d'Ysmael, filz d'Abraham: duquel le peuple eut nom Hismaelite, qui est dit Sarrazin.*"

¹ *Roman de Rou*, t. 1. p. 21. It is easy to recognise the names of Alderney, Guernsey, Sark, Herm, and Jersey.

FARMHOUSE, GUERNSEY





The Dawn of Civilisation

Thus the *hougue* in Guernsey, now covered by the Castel Church, was called by the Islanders the Chastel du Grand Jeffroy or du Grand Sarrazin, and from this castle the parish takes its name of Ste. Marie de Castro. This "Grand Geffroy" was undoubtedly the celebrated Jarl, Godefroy, son of Harold. His personality must have deeply impressed the Islanders, one of the cromlechs in the Vale parish being known as the Tombeau du Grand Sarrazin, and the Autel de Déhus being also called L'Autel du Grand Sarrazin. Hastings, another well-known Jarl, gave his name to the Hougue Hatenaie, which is the highest ground in the parish of St. Martin's.

These Scandinavians have left an enduring token of their presence in the names they gave to different places; thus the Norse *o* or *ey*, an island, appears in Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and *holme*, a river-island, in Lihou, Jethou, Burhou, etc.¹

They also have left us as legacies the *hougues*, or artificial mounds of earth which they raised over their dead chieftains. In one of these sepulchral chambers near Cobo Bay in Guernsey were found two long straight iron swords, like those used by the Vikings, with engraved devices on the upper parts of the handles.²

In Jersey the principal *hougue* is the Hougue Bie or Hougue du Hambie, to which one of the most widely known of the insular legends is attached.

¹ *Words and Places*, by Isaac Taylor, pp. 124-5.

² Now in the Lukis Museum in St. Peter-Port, Guernsey.

The Channel Islands

Perhaps the earliest extant account of it is in *Les Chroniques de Jersey*, printed in Guernsey in 1832 from a manuscript written in 1585 belonging to the de Carteret family, which may be roughly translated thus :—

Once upon a time in the island of Jersey there was a serpent, who with many griefs and pains troubled the islanders. The Seigneur de Hambie in Normandy having heard of it, and wishing to acquire fame and to make his name glorious for ever, came over to Jersey, killed the serpent, and cut off its head. But the varlet who accompanied him, wishing to take unto himself the glory of this action, and being mad with envy, contrived to kill his master and bury him. He then returned to Hambie and persuaded Madame de Hambie that the serpent had killed his lord, but that he had avenged the death of his master by killing the serpent. He also persuaded her that his master's dying wish was that she should espouse him, which she did, but only for the love of her late lord. But the servant, having become master, was troubled in his sleep, and nervous, and cried out in the night, "Oh, miserable that I am, who have killed my master !" The lady often warned him of these dreams, but as they still continued, she began to suspect him of this parricide, and told her friends, and the servant having been examined, by the decree of the judge was found guilty. In memory of this event, the lady raised a monument upon the spot where she learned her husband had been killed and buried. This monument was a round tower on an elevated

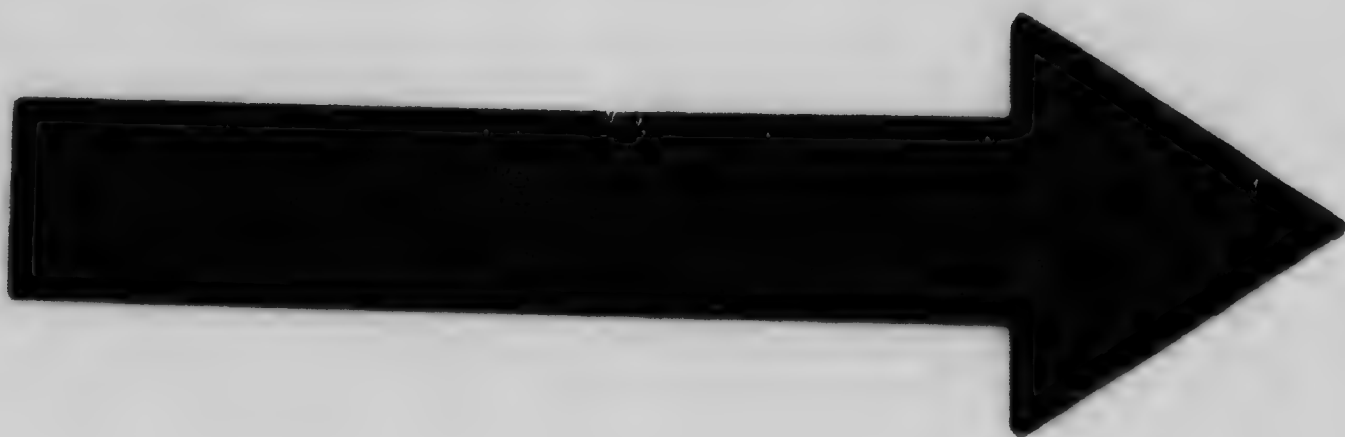
The Dawn of Civilisation

spot, which place is called La Hougue Bie, and from it can be seen in clear weather the Castle and hamlet of Hambie in Normandy.

Legends of serpents and dragons are prevalent in almost all countries, and in most of the stories there is a great family likeness—the same monster who is the terror and devastation of the country round, and the same champion knight, whether Perseus or the Knight of Lambton or Le Seigneur de Hambie, whose services as the deliverer of the neighbourhood are perpetuated in monumental stone or celebrated in local song.

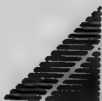
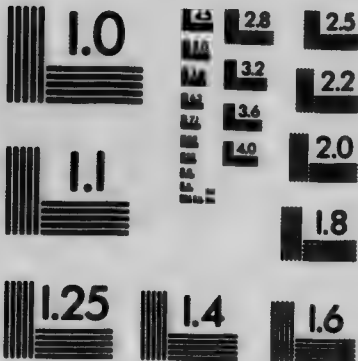
The author of the *Chroniques* goes on to say : "Sire¹ Richard Mabon, priest and vicar of the parish of St. Martin and afterwards dean of the island of Jersey under the Bishop of Coutances, having been to Jerusalem, on his return from the said journey caused a chapel to be built on the summit of this *hougue*, which chapel he named Notre Dame de la Hougue Bie, because he built it on this *hougue* in perpetual memory of the Holy Sepulchre." He excited a peculiar reverence for the place by encouraging the idea that the Virgin Mary frequently appeared there to him ; and he placed her figure in

¹ In the Channel Islands, up to the Reformation, all ecclesiastics under the rank of a dean were invariably styled "Sire," probably as the French equivalent of the Latin *dominus*, by which term they were known in the more ancient deeds. The practice must have been the same in England, for in Shakespeare's *Love's Labour Lost* we find the curate is called "Sir Nathaniel," and "Sir Oliver Martext" is the vicar in *As You Like It*; this prefix indicating that the priest, though not a University man, was ordained.



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The Channel Islands

an excavation underground, formed to resemble the Holy Sepulchre at Jerusalem and communicated with by arched passages, through which the people passed to pay their devotions. At the end of these passages the figure was seen through an opening, leaning on one elbow and with a hand extended to receive the gifts which all who visited the chapel were expected to present. When the novelty of this spectacle wore off and visitors began to slacken, he announced that the Virgin would for the future perform many miracles at the *hougue*, and by a system of artificial lights and concealed wires produced a series of manifestations which impressed numbers of the people; but eventually much of his trickery was discovered, and gave rise to the expression that anything very incredible was a "Miracle de la Hougue Bie."¹

At the beginning of the nineteenth century this spot was bought for a signal station by Admiral Philip d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, who "with questionable taste incorporated this interesting structure with a tower, which he built on its site, and which is generally called, from its owner, Prince's Tower."²

In 933 Raoul, King of the Franks, ceded to William Long-Sword, second Duke of Normandy, the land situated, as Dupont describes it, on the "sea coasts of the Bretons."³

¹ *Strangers' Guide to Jersey*, Guernsey, 1833, p. 62.

² *Armorial of Jersey*, by Bertrand Payne, vol. i. p. 58.

³ *Le Cotentin et ses Iles*, t. i. p. 156.

WATER LANE, MOULIN HUET, GUERNSEY



The Dawn of Civilisation

As we have seen, the Islands had been previously held by a succession of Breton chieftains such as Loyesco and Nivo, and then by northern Jarls such as "le Grand Sarrazin," but this charter definitely incorporated them with Normandy and placed them under the dominion of the Norman dukes.

According to tradition Robert the Magnificent or "Le Diable" was the first of these dukes to set foot in the Islands. He is supposed to have been driven by stress of weather to take shelter in L'An-cresse Bay, and during his sojourn in Guernsey to have founded the Vale Castle, Jerbourg Castle (which has long since disappeared), and "Ivy" Castle, known originally as Le Château d'Orgueil and afterwards as Le Château des Marais.

The next Royal visitor was Mauger, uncle of William the Conqueror and Archbishop of Rouen, who was banished to Guernsey in 1055, and of whom many legends still exist. One is that he landed at La "Baie de Sains" or "de Seing," a name now modernised into "Saints" Bay, and that there he fell in love with a fair country girl¹ called Gille (of whose kindred the insular family of Guille claim to be), and that from them descend the family of Mauger of Guernsey, Jersey, and Sark.

Of course it is impossible to verify this tradition, but it appears from the earliest known legal documents that the families of Guille and Mauger have held

¹ An old manuscript quoted in the *Chronique de Normandie*, Rouen, 1578, folio 79, calls her a "noble dame."

The Channel Islands

land in St. Martin's parish in the "Contrée de Seing" certainly since the year 1303, the earliest date to which our information goes back.

Mauger, who was noted for his crimes, is also credited with having introduced witchcraft and sorcery into the island.

Less than a century later, about the year 1120, the poet Wace was born in Jersey. He was partly educated at Caen, and died in England about 1184. Two of the most celebrated of his poems are *Brut*, which is a collection of all the legends extant in Brittany and apparently in the Islands about King Arthur, his Court, and the Knights of the Holy Graal; and the *Roman de Rou*, which contains an account of the first incursions of the Northmen into England and France, and the history of Rollo and his successors down to 1106. They are the most curious literary monuments that remain of the history, language and traditions of ducal Normandy.¹ Their vernacular, with very little alteration, is the dialect still spoken in the country parishes of all the islands, and they are specimens of the Norman-French which was for centuries the legal language of England, and is even now the Royal assent to any Bill is reminding every Briton that he still owes a debt to the Duke of Normandy.

With the thirteenth century a new era began for the Islands. In 1199 John, who as Comte de Mortain had held these Islands in fief for the past twelve

¹ *History of Guernsey*, etc., by F. B. Tupper, 2nd ed. p. 21.

The Dawn of Civilisation

months, succeeded to the throne of England and the dukedom of Normandy, and he soon realised that his Norman subjects were among the most difficult problems with which he had to deal.

The family of de Préaux was then one of the most distinguished in Upper Normandy. Wace mentions a seigneur of this name among the combatants at Hastings;¹ and William de Préaux, one of his descendants, accompanied Richard Cœur de Lion to the Crusades, and there saved his life at the risk of his own.² King John, knowing that the barons of the Cotentin were wavering in their allegiance, wished to establish in this part of his duchy a man on whose fidelity he could rely. By a charter dated January 14th, 1200, he nominated Pierre de Préaux Seigneur (*dominus*³) of Jersey, Guernsey, Alderney, and the dependencies, at the same time giving him other lands both in England and in Normandy, all of which he held from the King by the feudal service of three knights,⁴ and he also received the promise of succeeding William de Vernon (whose eldest daughter, Marie, he had married⁵) in the lordship of the Isle of Wight.

The seal of this Pierre de Préaux forms part of the Collection Sphragistique des Archives Nationales de France.⁶ It shows the arms that the Priaulx family

¹ *Roman de Rou*, t. ii. p. 248 n. 2.

² *Dupont*, t. i. p. 524.

³ *Ibid.* pp. 425 and 489.

⁴ *Rot. Chart.* p. 33 col. 2, and p. 71 col. 1.

⁵ *Jersey, Ses Antiquités*, t. i. p. 154.

⁶ No. 3305.

The Channel Islands

of Guernsey bear to this day—an eagle displayed—and around the seal is the legend *Sigillum Petri de Pratellis*.¹

Thus were the Islands, for the first time since the sixth century, united under a single ruler and politically separated from the Cotentin. The gift of the Islands to Pierre de Préaux seems to have been practically absolute, for by a still extant charter he gave the islets of Ecrehou in 1203 to the abbey of Val Richer for the purpose of constructing a chapel dedicated to God and the Virgin, where masses were to be said for the souls of the founder, of his ancestors, and for the King of England. Pierre died between the years 1209 and 1212, and by a charter dated March 10th, 1216, King John transferred the lordship of the Islands to his brother, Guillaume de Préaux.² These two brothers, Pierre and Guillaume,³ were remotely connected with King John himself, being sons of Osbert, Seigneur de Préaux, and, according to the Marquis de Ruvigny and Raineval, of Matilda Plantagenet,⁴ daughter of Hamelin Plantagenet and Isabel de Warenne, both descendants of the Norman Dukes.

But Philip Augustus of Fra. took advantage of

¹ The Latin form of de Préaux; see *Gardiens et Seigneurs des Îles Normandes*, by J. Havet, pp. 385-6.

² Dupont, t. ii. p. 38.

³ It is to this Guillaume de Préaux that the Guernsey family of Priaux have been affiliated by de Courcelles in his *Nobiliaire Universel de France*, t. xviii. p. 131, etc.

⁴ "Lords and Marquises of Raineval" in *The Genealogical Magazine* for December, 1897.

ROUGH SEA, NOIRMONT POINT, JERSEY





The Dawn of Civilisation

John's many crimes to alienate his Norman subjects from him. Town after town capitulated and fell ; and finally on December 15th, 1203, John embarked at Barfleur for Southampton, leaving Normandy for ever behind him : the only remnant left him being the Norman isles, retained by him either through some oversight of Philip Augustus and his councillors or by some diplomatic stratagem of Pierre de Préaux, their ruler.

Thus originally all the Islands were administered by one man, uniting in himself both civil and military power, presiding over the "Royal Courts" of Jersey and Guernsey, and being styled indifferently "Governor" or "Bailiff."

Towards the year 1290 Otho de Grandison, then Governor of the Islands, delegated the civil power to two subordinate officers, known as "bailiffs" ; and since then Jersey and Guernsey have each had its bailiffs, and the Governorship resolved itself into the military command. From the middle of the fifteenth century the Islands were definitely divided into two governments, Jersey being one, and Guernsey with the lesser islands the other. Since 1835 in Guernsey, and 1854 in Jersey, Lieutenant-Governors have been substituted for the Governors, and they are always generals in the English army and appointed by the Crown.

The possession of these Islands was ratified to the Crown of England by the treaty of 1259, by which the King of England recognised that he held them of the King of France in fief, owing homage for the same ;

The Channel Islands

and by the treaty of Brétigny in 1360, by which the King of France abandoned this right of suzerainty. Although until about the year 1568 the Islands were still so far united to Normandy that they remained included within the diocese of Coutances, their inhabitants were now no longer vassals of France, but subjects of England, and had started a distinct political career, having for its basis the defence of their independence against France and of their nationality against England.

WELCKROUTE BAY, JERSEY



CHAPTER III
FIEFS AND FEUDAL TENURES

All nobility in its beginnings was somebody's natural superiority.—
EMERSON.

CHAPTER III

FIEFS AND FEUDAL TENURES

BEFORE we proceed to touch upon the individual history of the Channel Islands, it may be worth while to notice the feudal system of Jersey and Guernsey, the history of some of the principal fiefs, their quaint tenures and their manorial courts. For fragments of the old system remain to this day, and may almost be said to constitute one of the peculiar charms of the Islands, though most people from want of knowledge fail to recognise these picturesque survivals of mediæval customs.

The feudal system was the result of mutual compacts between the king, the nobility, the *bourgeoisie*, and the serfs, for their common benefit; whereby the stronger members pledged themselves to protect the weaker in return for services exacted and rendered. It was, in fact, nothing but the principle of the household, originating in the tribal system of the early German races, grafted on to the method of "patronage" prevalent among the Gauls and Latins.¹

¹ *Les origines Communales de la Féodalité et de la Chevalerie* (Paris, 1903), by Jacques Flach.

The Channel Islands

By the time of the Conquest of England, the feudal system was in full force in the Islands. The seigneurs of the fiefs were either members of the Norman nobility, such as the Nèels de St.-Sauveur and the de Briquebecs, or bishops and abbots of the principal religious houses holding property in the Islands, such as de Mowbray, Bishop of Coutances, the Abbots of Mont St. Michel and of Marmoutiers, the Abbess of Caen, &c. The fiefs in the Islands were accordingly divided into two classes—the “fief haubert,”¹ for which homage was owed to the king in person, and the seigneur was bound to supply, when required, a horseman fully armed and accoutred, accompanied by two or three squires; and the “fief subalterne,” or minor fief, whose seigneur merely supplied one vassal lightly armed, and instead of paying homage direct to the king, owed it to some over-lord of whose seigneurie the fief was a dependency.

In Jersey there were originally but four fiefs haubert and 116 fiefs subalternes. The former consisted of St. Ouen, Rozel, Samarés, and Trinity, but when Charles II. was in the island, he made Melesches also into a fief haubert and gave it to Sir George de Carteret. The seigneurie of St. Ouen takes precedence; it owes “suite de Cour”—that is, a declaration of homage to the Sovereign made in a formal manner—

¹ Gough in his *Sepulchral Monuments* says:—“Baronies in some customaries are called ‘fiefs de haubert’ because held by the service of wearing or furnishing a hauberk, helmet, shield, and complete armour of a knight.”

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

and attendance three times a year at what is called the Chief Pleas,¹ knight service, and the sum of ten livres tournois² for "relief" whenever the cause of its

¹ The Court of Chief Pleas is held at Easter, Michaelmas, and Christmas in Guernsey, dating perhaps from the days of King Arthur, when the kings and chieftains held their Courts and feasted their vassals at the three great festivals of the year (*The Myvyrian Archaeology of Wales*, vol. iii. p. 363). Up to the fourteenth century the seigneurs of the principal fiefs sat on the bench as supplementary jurats at these Courts, but after that they used simply to reply by name at each assembly, and nowadays they merely respond in person or by deputy. After the Court is over a dinner is held at the King's expense, comprising the Bailiff, Crown officers, jurats, sergeant, and the aforesaid seigneurs: and it is always spoken of as dining "with" the King. In the same way the fiefs which still retain their Manorial Courts have also their Courts of Chief Pleas, at which the principal tenants, or *vavasseurs*, are bound to appear and sit on the bench as judges, and the minor tenants just answer their names. The officers and principal tenants of these Courts are in like manner given a dinner by their seigneur.

In Jersey there are now only two "Assises d'Héritage," held in May and October. They are the opening ceremonies of the "Cour d'Héritage" (as the Court of Chief Pleas is called in Jersey), and are held at 11.30 a.m. after a *déjeuner* given by the Bailiff to the members of the Court. In the evening of the same day, the King's Receiver provides the King's dinner to the same officials. The "sergents" and "prévôts" dine separately.

² The "monnoie tournois," or money coined in the city of Tours, though it has now but a nominal existence, has been from time immemorial the legal currency in these Islands and to this day it is the denomination in which sales of real property and fines attached to the infraction of local laws is usually expressed in title deeds and in ordinances. The French "livre," or "franc" originally meant the value of a pound weight of standard silver. But the debasement in its value was considered a peculiarly Royal prerogative, and was naturally deemed too convenient not to be frequently exercised. "Abaissier et amenuisier la monnoie" said the Solicitor-General of Philip le Bel, while conducting the case against the Comte de Nevers, who was being tried for this very offence, "est privilège

The Channel Islands

payment occurs. "In war-time," says Mr. Payne, "its seigneur owed formerly military service to the king at the Castle of Mont Orgueil, he and two other men-at-arms with horses, at his own cost 'par l'espace de deux parts de quarante jours'; and being of 'garde noble,' this seigneurie fell into the king's charge and custody during the minority of its heir; and at the death or sudden removal from the island of the Governor of Jersey, the Seigneurs of St. Ouen by their tenure replaced him in that important command until a successor was named by the King."

especial du roi de son droit royal." Philip himself gained the title of "Faux Monnoyeur" from his subjects for having robbed the coinage of six-sevenths of its silver.

Among the Patent Rolls of 1328 is an order to John de Roches, then Governor of the Islands, "to take the king's farms and rents to the value of the old money current in the Islands, so that the king may not lose by the changes in the money, as, where his progenitors receive their farms and rents in money whereof four pennies were worth 'one sterling' (*estling*) now eight pennies of the money current there are not worth one sterling." In the Extent of 1331, when four livres tournois went to one pound sterling, it is said that the Governor "prend par jour seize deniers de forte monnoie, desquelles quatre valent un estling"—an estling being valued at four deniers tournois, or one farthing, which would make his pay at the rate of one penny sterling a day (Warburton, p. 117; Havet, *Gardiens et Seigneurs des Iles*, p. 453 n.). In 1637 it was decided that nine livres two sols tournois were equal to the British pound sterling. From the eighteenth century the circulation of British coin (which had long been of unchanged value) became more prevalent in the Islands, and it had the effect of fixing the value of the French pieces here current, so that from 1709 until now the livre tournois has been worth about one shilling and fivepence and one seventh of a penny, fourteen of them going to the pound, while in France the livre or franc is worth only one twenty-fifth of a pound.

¹ *Armorial*, p. 67.

ST. AUBIN, JERSEY, FROM GROUNDS OF THE SOMERVILLE HOTEL



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

Before the establishment of the Royal or King's Courts, which, though generally traced to the reign of King John, is undoubtedly of much earlier date, the seigneurs of the fiefs were the dispensers of justice, and from their decisions the only appeal was to the dukes in person or to their representatives, the itinerant justices of assize, who were periodically sent to visit the Islands.

The Seigneur of St. Ouen had the right of "haute, moyenne, et basse justice," which means he could condemn any of his vassals to be hanged, imprisoned, or simply beaten with rods.¹ To this day some of the seigneurs retain their Courts, and have a "sénéchal," "vavasseurs," "greffier," "prévôt," and "sergent" but no longer can they sentence their vassals to death or even torture.

According to the Extent of 1331, Sir Reginald de Carteret was then Seigneur of St. Ouen, and as the author of the *Chroniques de Jersey*² expresses it, his ancestors had held that fief "tant du Roy d'Angleterre que des Ducs de Normandie qu'il n'y en avoit mémoire du contraire." These de Carterets are indeed the oldest and most distinguished family in the Channel Islands. For nearly a thousand years they have been the principal landowners, if not virtual rulers,³ of Jersey; they were granted Sark

¹ *Tableaux Historiques*, etc., by J. P. Ahier, p. 159.

² P. 10.

³ "From 1626 to 1826, with but nine years' cessation during the Protectorate, the family of de Carteret had held the office of Bailly of Jersey" (*Armorial*, p. 117).

The Channel Islands

by Queen Elizabeth in 1565,¹ and Alderney by Charles II. in 1660.

Humphrey and Mauger de Carteret accompanied Duke William to England and fought at Hastings; Sir Reginald de Carteret, Seigneur of St. Ouen, went to the Crusades, and was present at the taking of Jerusalem.

In 1200, when Pierre de Préaux received orders from the King to call out the seigneurs and vassals of the different fiefs to protect the Islands from attack—which order is supposed to have led to the formation of the local corps of Militia—to Reginald de Carteret was given the charge of organising and commanding this force.²

At the time of the separation from Normandy the de Carterets were among the few Norman lords who, putting duty and honour above interest, adhered to their English King, and thereby forfeited their far more valuable lands and lordships on the Continent.

Before 1234³ Sir Philip de Carteret, grandson of the above-named Reginald, married Margaret d'Albini, niece of the celebrated Philip d'Albini, twice Governor of these Islands; and from them sprang seven generations of de Carterets who fought and defeated the French and served their country with honour and distinction until the days of Philip de Carteret, the

¹ "In Reward of the many services received by Herself and Her Royal ancestors from this family": Patent of Queen Elizabeth to Helier de Carteret.

² *Dupont*, t. i. pp. 449 and 494.

³ Extent of Jersey, 1248.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

eighth of that name. His father having died in his infancy, this Philip was for eighteen years a ward of the Crown, and an ancient manuscript records that when he came of age alder-trees were growing in the hall of his manor-house of St. Ouen, owing to the neglect and covetousness of his guardians. He married Margaret Harliston, daughter of Richard Harliston, Vice-Admiral of the British fleet and Governor of Jersey. By his bold remonstrances against the abuse of power exercised by Matthew Baker the Governor, and the exorbitant taxes which he levied on the people, Philip incurred the resentment of that official. In revenge Baker imagined a deep-laid plot. He suborned a menial named Roger le Bouteillier—a man discharged by de Carteret for forgery and theft of his signet ring—to write a letter, purporting to be written by his late master, in which he offered to betray Jersey to France. This letter Roger le Bouteillier pretended to pick up in the road, after the Seigneur of St. Ouen and his retinue had passed *en route* to the “Cohue” (or Royal Court), and handed to Matthew Baker, bound for the same place from his residence at Mont Orgueil. Matthew rode straightway with it to the Court, where he proclaimed Philip de Carteret a traitor. The Bailiff, Clement le Hardy, took Baker’s part, for, having been appointed by the Governor, he felt his tenure of office depended on keeping in his favour, and he also had a private grudge against Madame de St. Ouen, in that she had addressed him one day as “Gossip”

The Channel Islands

(*compère*) instead of calling him "Monsieur le Bailly."¹ So he ordered Philip to be led off to the dungeon of Mont Orgueil and his estates to be confiscated, without going through the formality of a trial. At this fresh insult Philip threw down his glove, and challenged to mortal combat any man who should dare affirm that he was the writer of the letter. Roger le Bouteillier was the only man who took up the challenge, and him—a low-born felon—Philip was reluctant to fight. But both the Governor and the Bailiff insisting that this acceptance was valid, Philip was led away to a loathsome dungeon, where he was deliberately kept in a half-starved condition, while le Bouteillier, nominally also a prisoner, went and came as he liked, and was "*bien nourri pour être fort*," as the old chronicler puts it.

Meanwhile the lists for this unequal "combat à outrance" were prepared on Grouville Common, and the date was fixed for the eve of St. Lawrence's Day, August 9th, 1494—about a fortnight after the pretended discovery of the letter.

These arrangements having been made, Baker hurried off to England to tell his story to the King, having first issued a proclamation by the Vicomte that no boats or vessels should quit the island without a special licence from himself, so afraid was he of being forestalled. Now Madame de St. Ouen was lying with her four-day-old son on her arm wondering why her husband did not return. When at last she

¹ *Chroniques*, p. 35.

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FIQUET BAY, JERSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

heard what had happened, the chronicle states, "elle prinst courage et, se confiant totalement en Dieu," determined to do all she could to save her husband. She got out of bed, and with only one attendant managed to slip out of Jersey in an open boat at dead of night and attain the neighbouring island of Guernsey. On arrival she went to the house of William de Beauvoir, a jurat of the Royal Court, sometime (through his mother, Margaret le Feyvre, daughter of Michel le Feyvre) Seigneur of Vinchelès-de-Bas in Jersey, and an old and trusted friend of the de Carterets.

He, being a man of courage and decision, immediately started with her in his own boat to Poole. Through great peril they arrived at Poole Harbour, but what was their dismay at seeing Matthew Baker standing on the quay! They would now have been discovered if a hailstorm had not come on, "comme Dieu voulut, ayant toujours soin des siens," of so violent a character that Baker was glad to seek shelter in a shed, and to remain there while the lady landed in safety and was hospitably received by James Haviland, then Mayor of Poole, husband of Helène, daughter of Richard de Beauvoir, of Guernsey.¹

¹ Hutchins, *History of Dorset*, pedigree of Haviland. This James Haviland, ancestor of the English family of Haviland, was a younger son of Thomas de Havilland, jurat of Guernsey. He settled in Poole between the years 1450 and 1475, and was four times Mayor of the town. He built the northern half of the Church of St. James at Poole, in which he endowed a chantry. He died in 1510. (See Sydenham's *History of Poole*, p. 310.)

The Channel Islands

At break of day Madame de St. Ouen and her faithful friend set off on horseback and rode to Winchester, where the King was holding his Court. On arrival she went straight to an old friend of her husband's, the Bishop of Winchester, and by his means obtained a personal audience of King Henry VII. Being, like all the Tudors, partial to a pretty woman, and struck by her courage and endurance, Henry gave her a Royal warrant under the Great Seal of England for the deliverance of her husband. Fate so willed it that, as she came down the stairs from the Audience Chamber, she met Baker ascending them, and great was his astonishment and fury at seeing her there and feeling that he had been foiled.

Fortune still favouring her, she arrived in Jersey on August 8th, the day before the date fixed for the combat. She went straight to the Bailiff's house, and, displaying her warrant, demanded her husband's immediate release, and that he should be at once restored to his dignities and honours. Then was there great joy amongst the people, for he was much beloved, "*et n'y avoit personne qui ne priast Dieu pour luy.*"

On the following day, when the now useless lists came to be destroyed, it was discovered that the arena was studded by numerous and deep pits, which, carefully covered over with grass and known to and avoided by his adversary, would have rendered the death of the seigneur all but certain.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

For his share in this disgraceful transaction, on November 3rd, 1494, Matthew Baker was deprived of his post, and Henry VII. at the same time issued an order that every loyal Islander should be allowed to come and go between England and the other Islands without asking leave of the Governor; and to check the abuse of their power, the Governors were no longer allowed to nominate the Bailiffs and Deans of Jersey and Guernsey, who since then have held their respective offices direct from the Crown.¹

Philip de Carteret lived until August, 1500; he and his wife are said to have had twenty sons, all distinguished for their prowess, and one daughter, Mabel, who married Drouet Lemprière, Seigneur of Trinity. From Edward, the eldest son, came the Carterets, knights, baronets, and earls, who ended in 1775 with the death of Robert de Carteret, second Earl Granville, Viscount Carteret and the last Seigneur of St. Ouen in the male line. This historic fief then passed to his kinswoman, Jane Dumaresq, wife of Elias le Maistre, who thus became lady of the manor, and her great-grandson, Edward Charles Malet de Carteret, is the twenty-seventh Seigneur of St Ouen,² and represents the ancient family of Malet, Seigneurs of La Malletière from A.D. 1170, as well as the senior branch of de Carteret.

There is no other house in the Islands to approach in beauty, size, or interest the old manor-house of St.

¹ *Chroniques*, pp. 30-35; *Armorial*, pp. 76-7.

² *The Ancestor* for October 1902, pp. 218-22.

The Channel Islands

Ouen. It has, of course, been added to and rebuilt at different periods, but its moat, Norman keep, and old arched doorways go back to the period of the early Plantagenets. It overlooks one of the lovely wooded valleys characteristic of Jersey, and the whole house has the undefinable atmosphere of latent romance and tragedy which is peculiar to buildings which have for centuries been inhabited by men and women who have lived and loved, rejoiced and suffered. The Seigneur of St. Ouen has no title-deeds; since the date when the Norman duke first granted this domain to his ancestor it has always remained in the de Carteret family, so that no deeds of sale or purchase are in existence.

The next fief in seniority is that of Rozel. Before the alienation of Normandy, the manor of Rozel was held by Sylvester de Carteret, who proved to be disloyal to King John, and his lands were confiscated and given to his brother Enguerrand in 1208. In 1228 the King granted these lands to Emery Buche, of Jersey, and they were transferred by the King in 1247 to Dreux de Barentin for "so long as the lands of England and Normandy are not united."¹

In the oft-quoted Extent of 1331 we find William de Barentin, nephew and heir of Sir Drouet de Barentin, knight, holds the manor and fief of Rozel by "homage and relief," and "should our lord the King land in this island, the said William is bound to go on horseback into the sea to meet him, until

¹ *Lettres Cloes*, published by the Société Jersiaise.

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ST. OVEN MANOR, JERSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

the sea shall touch the girths of his horse, and in the same manner should attend him on his departure."¹ He was also the King's cup-bearer during his stay in the island, and "entitled to the same emoluments as the cup-bearer in England," and owed "suite de Cour" and "droit de justice." Philip de Barentin, who succeeded his father as seigneur, was accused by his relations of being a leper,² and they made this a pretext for endeavouring to deprive him of his property. To frustrate these intentions, however, Philip made a hasty sale of his lands, Rozel, Samarés, and other manors, to Raoul Lemprière and Guillaume Payn in 1367, "conjointement"; in 1382 Payn and Lemprière divided these fiefs between themselves, Lemprière keeping Rozel and Payn taking Samarés, etc.

Being a leper, he had, of course, to separate from his wife and two sons, who remained at the manor pending a lawsuit as to the legality of the sale. Scandal began to spread as to Madame de Barentin's too great familiarity with Jehannet de St. Martin, seigneur of the neighbouring manor of Trinity. What foundation this rumour had in fact we shall

¹ The Fief des Augrès was also held by the same tenure.

² That leprosy was known in the Islands (having probably been brought from the East by returned Crusaders) is evident from the existence of a lazaretto in Jersey, which is alluded to (in a deed dated 1346) as owing to the King's Receiver, an "ancient rent" due to the lepers of Grand Port, in St. Martin's parish, Jersey. There were also two *maladveries*, or lazarettos, in Guernsey, one situated under Les Terres and above the Rocque ès Chèvres, and another at the Ruettes Brayes (*Actes des Etats*, p. 167).

The Channel Islands

never know, but it came to her ears, and she, according to the old manuscript,¹ thus addressed her two sons: "Oh, my sons, Jean de St. Martin has accused me of compromising myself with him. If you be loyal sons, you will avenge the insult offered to your mother. Such slanderers should have their tongues torn out." Then did Philip and Gilbert de Barentin lay an ambuscade along the road which led from their manor to that of Trinity, and posted a boy to warn them of the approach of M. de St. Martin, and as he unconsciously walked past, they leapt upon him, stabbed him to death with their poignards, and tore out his tongue by the roots.

What became of Madame de Barentin, thus taken at her word, history does not relate, but the murderers fled to the nearest church, where alone they felt safe. In those days a church was a haven of refuge for malefactors; while inside its boundaries no one could touch them, but it could not grant them permanent immunity for their crimes. They could stay there for nine days without being molested, and their relations were allowed to bring them food, but they were under strict surveillance, and were then obliged to take an oath of abjuration of their country for ever. From each church to the seashore a lane was marked out and especially consecrated to these exiles; it was known in Jersey by the name of "Perquage."² The rector of

¹ A sixteenth-century MS. quoted in the 27^{me} Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise, p. 85.

² A word derived from *perche*, a lineal measure 24 feet wide.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

the parish under whose protection they were, accompanied them to the seashore, seeing that they did not stray from the route, for the slightest deviation would again put them in the power of the civil law.¹

On the spot where this crime had been committed, a stone cross, called La Croix de Jehannet, was afterwards erected, and though this monument has long since disappeared, the district is still known as La Croix au Maitre.

We have seen that through purchase the manor of Rozel, as well as many others, passed into the hands of Raoul Lemprière and Guillaume Payn in 1367. The founder of the Lemprières in Jersey was Raoul Lemprière, who settled there about 1270, obtained a fief named after himself, and in 1309 was called to account for having erected a *colombier*, or dovecote, without licence of the King. A *colombier* was one of the most coveted privileges of feudal times, being distinctive of the "droit de chasse," which was a privilege attached to noble fiefs alone. Only a "noble" seigneur could have as a *colombier* an *isolated* round tower, though, by a later concession, the lesser seigneurs might have a *tourelle* or demi-tower, but only on condition that it was attached to the principal edifice; while those of the third rank of the feudal hierarchy were only allowed to pierce

¹ These "Perquages" or "Sanctuary Roads" were confiscated by the Crown at the Reformation. Charles II. gave them, May 30th, 1663, to Sir Edward de Carteret, son of Sir Philip, who left no descendants, and they were inherited by his cousin, Anne Brevint, wife of the Dean of Lincoln.

The Channel Islands

pigeon-holes either in the eaves or gables of their houses.¹ The colombiers of Guernsey seem entirely to have disappeared, but a few good specimens remain in Jersey, notably at Rozel and La Hague manors.

Evidently the Fieu ès Lemprières was not considered sufficiently important to warrant a colombier, for we read in the Extent of 1331 that as the said colombier had been built without the King's licence, it had now been pulled down.

Raoul Lemprière married a daughter of Geoffrey Bras-de-Fer, Bailiff of Jersey, and their daughter married Peter le Marchant, of Guernsey. A great-great-granddaughter of Raoul's, Catherine Lemprière, heiress to her brother John—Governor of Jersey in 1500—brought this fief into the hands of the Guernsey family of Perrin by her marriage with Dominic Perrin, jurat of the Royal Court of Guernsey, as his father and grandfather had been before him. The Perrins were one of the families, common enough before the wars of the Commonwealth had brought disunion between the Islands, who were landowners both in Jersey and Guernsey and intermarried with the families of both islands. They held the seigneurie of Rozel for four generations until Abraham Perrin, a great-great-grandson of Dominic Perrin, sold it to Sir Philip de Carteret in 1625. From the de Carterets it passed by marriage first to the Corbets and later to the Lemprières, and in their hands it still remains. The present manor-

¹ *Jersey, Ses Antiquités, etc.*, t. i. pp 388-90.

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BEAU PORT, JERSEY





Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

house of Rozel is a modern building ; the old house, which was inhabited by the Perrins, now forms part of the stables.

According to a charter quoted by de la Croix (vol. i. p. 134), who gives Jeune as his authority, the fief of Samarés was granted by William Rufus to Rodolph de St. Helier in 1095, but this charter seems to be of doubtful authenticity. At the Court of Common Pleas held in Jersey in 1300, Peter de Sausmarez, Seigneur of Samarés, son of Peter de Heler, was summoned to answer by what warrant he claims to have "in his Mannor de Sausmarez" these rights : "That of Jurisdiction, *i.e.* to keep a Paire of Gallows ; of having a Warren ; of Wreck ; of a Free Liberty to chase after Rabbits, and (to keep) Hawks, which are Regaltys belonging to the Dignity of the King."¹ Whereupon the said Peter replied : "That he and his Ancestors were in possession from time immemorial of the said Mannor, . . . and had Free Liberty to chase after rabbits over all the Mount of St. Helier, with their Hunting Dogs, Ferrets, Nets and Hunting Poles, . . . and of the regalities aforesaid, as the appurtenances of the same, and offers to justify it."

In 1331 the fief belonged to Guillaume de St. Helier,² but for his treachery during the French invasion of the Islands it was confiscated by Edward III.

¹ Abridged from an old English translation among the MSS. of Lord de Saumarez, extracted from the Exchequer Records.

² Extent of 1331.

The Channel Islands

in favour of Geoffrey de Thoresby, who sold it to Sir John Maltravers, Governor of the Islands, and he disposed of it to Philip de Barentin, who, as we have already seen, sold it to Guillaume Payn at the time when he sold Rozel to Raoul Lemprière. De la Croix¹ gives a curious list from an old manuscript of the services required of the vassals of Samarés by their seigneurs. Besides the usual services of cartage, cleaning out the barns and colombier, and "suite de Cour," they were expected to "defend him with their bodies in the battlefield, and be his surety, body for body if requisite ;² and to convey him to the four ports of Normandy once in his life, or in theirs. Should the Seigneur reside on the Fief du Hommet, a dependency of the Fief de Samarés, the priest was obliged to convey the lady of the manor to the church on a white horse the day she went to be churched."

The fief passed into the hands of the Dumaresqs, one of the oldest and most distinguished Jersey families, by the marriage of Mabel Payn to John Dumaresq. In 1501 the King's Procureur, Raulin le Marquand, insisted that John Dumaresq should erect a gallows on his fief for the execution of Pierre Resde, as it afforded a more extensive view, and thus would be more exemplary to the people than the market-place of St. Heliers.³

Samarés remained in the possession of the Dumaresq

¹ Vol. i. p. 135.

² "Et le plaiger corps pour corps si le cas le requiert."

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

family until the reign of William and Mary, when it was presented by Deborah Dumaresq, heiress of that branch of the family, to Mr. John Seale. It passed subsequently to the Hammonds and Mourants.

The manor of Trinity was held by the de St. Martins from the earliest times.¹ They descended from a Drouet de St. Martin, who, according to the Extent of 1274, was accused of having usurped certain lands in the parishes of St. Pierre-du-Bois and Torteval, in Guernsey, 'since the time Dru de Barentin was Bailiff,' and also of taking certain lands in the parish of Trinity, Jersey, which belonged to the King. Henry de St. Martin, son of Drouet, Bailiff of Jersey in 1318, was a Seigneur of Trinity, and so was the John de St. Martin who was murdered by the two de Barentins about the year 1370. In 1515 Thomas de St. Martin died without heirs male, and the manor descended to his sister's son, Drouet Lemprière. Sir Hugh Vaughan, then the Governor of Jersey, endeavoured to wrest the estate from Drouet by inventing a charge of treason against his uncle Thomas and declaring that the fief had been previously sold to the de la Court family of Guernsey, hoping that thus these estates would revert to the Crown. Raulin le Marquand, Procureur, conducted the case, but the proofs were so flimsy that the Bailiff, Helier de Carteret,²

¹ *Armorial*, p. 130.

² Son of Sir Philip de Carteret and Margaret Harliston, and brother-in-law of Drouet Lemprière.

The Channel Islands

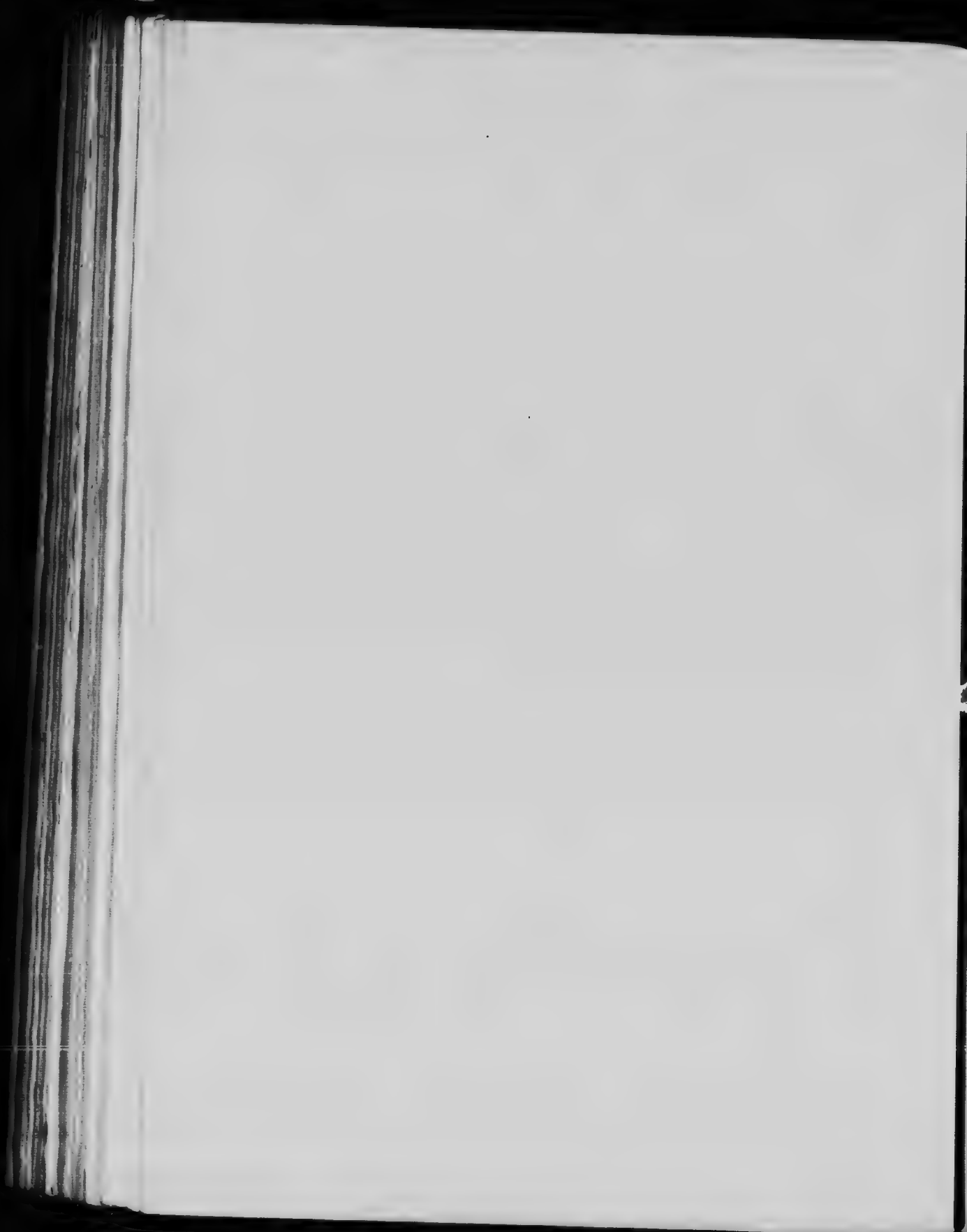
was about to pronounce judgment in favour of the defendant, when the Governor, seeing the case appeared likely to go against him, began to threaten the jurats, and told the Bailiff that if he did not deliver judgment in his favour, "he would run him through up to his sword-hilt." Whereupon the Bailiff arose, and ordering the doors of the court to be thrown open (for at that time justice was administered privately), drew his dagger from its sheath, and said to Sir Hugh that "if he or any of his followers moved, he was a dead man." Thus, with his dagger at the throat of Vaughan, he delivered a just sentence and confirmed Drouet Lemprière in his inheritance.

The seigneurie remained in the Lemprière family until Catherine, the heiress of Gilles Lemprière, married Amias de Carteret, Bailiff of Guernsey from 1601 to 1631. To this branch of de Carterets it belonged until the death of Sir Philip Carteret-Silvester, when it passed to his sister Caroline, on whose marriage to the Count Gabriel Henry de St. George it passed into the de St. George family. It has since fallen into alien hands, and the charming old manorhouse stands to-day empty and desolate.

It is impossible here to dwell on the minor fiefs and their owners, or the curious tenures by which some were held, such as the Fief des Augrès, whose seigneur, on the occasion of the marriage of his eldest son, owed the heir of Dièlment a fat white lamb;

FIELD OF CHRYSANTHEMUMS, GUERNSEY,
NOVEMBER 16TH, 1903





Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

or the Tapon estate, a dependency of the Fief de Bagot, belonging for centuries to the Millais family, which owed to its seigneur a pair of white gloves, three hens, three loaves, and a capon ; and we must turn to the fiefs and seigneurs of the sister island of Guernsey.

A nearly straight line drawn across Guernsey from Pleinmont Point at the extreme south-west to Fort Doyle at the extreme north-east would almost exactly divide the island into its two original fiefs. We will first deal with the portion lying south-east of the line, which comprises the parishes of St. Sampson's, the Town, St. Martin's, St. Andrew's, Forest, and part of Torteval. All this was the original fief of the Néels de St. Sauveur, Vicomtes of Le Cotentin ; but in 1048 they rebelled against their Duke, and he gave their lands to the Abbey of Marmoutiers, which retained the advowsons of the six parish churches even after the land had again been restored to its original owners, and in later days when it was sub-divided into a number of smaller fiefs.¹

Of these the principal were Anneville, Sausmarez, and Blanchelande. There were besides certain manors owned by various noble Norman families, such as the de Barnevilles, le Bouteilliers, de St. Romys, de Beauchamps, and de Rozels, which, by reason of the adherence of their owners to the cause of Normandy, had escheated to the King before the Extent of 1331

¹ Dupont, t. i. p. 241 ; and Miscellaneous Documents in Bibliothèque Nationale of Paris.

The Channel Islands

was made, so that he was at that time one of the largest fief-holders in Guernsey.

The land was divided into large farms called *bordages*.¹ The parish of St. Peter-Port, for instance, contained six of these *bordages*, and the names they still bear generally refer to their original holders in the years 1299 and 1331.

1. Bordage Cornet (Perrota de Cornet, 1304), still indicated by Cornet Street and Bordage Street.
2. „ Durant (Elie Duraunt, 1299)—Mount Durand and Park Street.
3. „ Rungefer (the Rungefers, 1299, 1304, 1331)—La Couture, Belles filles.
4. „ Troussé (Pierre Troussé, 1299, 1304)—La Ramée.
5. „ Leysant (a William and a Peter Leysant were tenants in the Vale parish in 1274²)—? Vrangue.
- 6 „ Landry (? also known as de Solers)—Vauquièdor and the Grange.³

The tenants were called *bordiers* and were hereditary officers. They had to attend the Chief Pleas, and to form the guard of the prisoners at executions. Each *bordier* had to maintain a farmhouse ; surrounding each house were the plough lands (*caruées*), which

¹ From an old French word *borde*, meaning a house.

² Extent of 1274.

³ *Cours Royales*, p. 102 ; and Mr. M. Gallienne's lecture on " Feudal Guernsey."

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

were divided into long strips called ox-gangs (*bouvées*) ; a common plough tilled the whole field, drawn by oxen furnished by each *bouvée*. When the crop of wheat or flax was taken up, the Church got the tithe, then the lord of the manor got his dues, or *campart*, and the rest belonged to the tenant, who had to pay a couple of fowls every year on the ground occupied by his house and garden, as a substitute for the *campart*. This *due*, called *pouillage*, still exists. As recently as in March of this year (1904) the King's Receiver published an official notice that all rents, *pouillages*, etc., for 1903 would be received in kind at the rate of 12s. 6d. per quarter of wheat, 3s. 9d. per couple of fowls, and 2s. 6d. per *quarantaine* of eggs. And it was not until the seventeenth century that the tenants were allowed to enclose their lands, nor until 1857 that the offices of the *bordiers* were finally abolished ; the only three *seigneurs* whose fiefs were of sufficient importance to have *bordiers* being the King, the Seigneur of Le Comte, and the Abbot of St. Michel. Like the other *seigneurs*, the King had the rights of *fouage*, or hearth tax ; *pesnage* on the food eaten by the pigs in the woods belonging to the manor : *verp*, or a duty on all ownerless beasts straying into his pastures ; a percentage on all transfers or successions of land on his fiefs ; and in the case of his lands bordering on the seashore, he also had rights called *varech*, or wreck of the sea, claimed on all *débris* thrown up on the beach, and *esperquerie*, which was the privilege of

The Channel Islands

first choice of all congers and mackerel fished by his tenants.

Fishing was, in those days, the principal means of livelihood for the poorer classes, who salted and dried the fish and sold them to the people of England and Normandy for eating during the many days when the Church commanded abstention from meat. While being dried, the fish were split open and held apart by pieces of stick (*des perches*), hence the name *esperquerie*, which is found nowhere else but in the Islands.

In 1331 the King had no warren in the island, but he or his representative had the right of chase outside the limits of the warrens of Guillaume de Chesney and Matthew de Sausmarez, and also might exercise this right a day earlier than any other seigneur. He also claimed the right of a market where his own weights and measures were used. This market was held, not in the town as at present, but at Les Landes in the Castel parish. Both the Abbot of the Vale and the Seigneur of Le Comte disputed this right and claimed to have their own markets and their own weights, but according to a Close Roll of 1308 the matter was settled in favour of the King.¹

Among his other possessions were the three Royal castles, Cornet, Vale, and Orgueil or des Marais, and nine mills, both wind and water. His tenants had to carry his corn to his grange, and when the

¹ Publication Spéciale of Société Jersiaise, 1902, p. 14; and 9^{me} Publication ditto, p. 78.

MARKET PLACE, GUERNSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

corn was to be exported to France, they had to find the crew and the boat in which it was conveyed ; they also had to keep the mills in repair, the King furnishing the necessary iron and wood.

One of the King's tenants in the Vale parish was bound to give a dinner three times a year to the King's three chief millers. At Christmas the repast consisted of a hot and a cold barley loaf, and a bowl of barley broth ; at midsummer a little milk to the value of one denier tournois was included ; and at Michaelmas the meal was eked out with a fish, also at the price of a denier tournois.¹

The King also had the right of taxing silken robes and scarlet mantles. He possessed in St. Peter-Port a "certain manor called the Grange," where his wheat and other dues were stored under the superintendence of his "Receiver." Attached to this was the Chapel "de la Grange," in which masses for the souls of ancestors were said daily. This manor and chapel were most probably situated in the vicinity of the Tour Gand, a fortress which defended the approaches of the town on the north, as the Tour Beauregard (situated where St. Barnabas's Church now stands) did on the south, and on or near the site of the ancient Court-House, which is still called the Plaiderie. In connection with this manor was a colombier, but this was only valued at four sols in 1331, as all the doves had flown. The Islanders on their parts were exempt from all further taxes, except to redeem the

¹ Dupont, t. ii. p. 241.

The Channel Islands

King should he be put in prison ("dou Diex le gart") and from all military services out of the Islands except the reconquest of England should it revolt against their Dukes.¹

There were many disputes respecting the feudal liberties of the Islands in regard to its Sovereign, the gist of most of them being, "Who shall decide what dues are owed by the King's tenants—the King in his courts in London, or the tenants through their jurats in the Islands?" The King ultimately gave way, leaving the tenants masters of the situation, and by degrees their personal services diminished until not a trace of them now remains.

The Fief d'Anneville lies in St. Sampson's Parish, and formed part of the domains of the Néels de St. Sauveur, whose revolt caused William of Normandy to despatch one of the inhabitants of Anneville-en-Saire—the place from which the fief subsequently derived its title—to Guernsey, as custodian of his rights, and to give him part of the forfeited lands in recompense. The early history of the fief has been much confused by some fictitious documents produced by Thomas Fashion (then seigneur) before the Commissioners of Queen Elizabeth, but proof exists that the d'Annevilles held this fief for, at any rate, three generations previous to the loss of Normandy. In the fourth generation, John and Sampson d'Anneville took the part of the Normans, and forfeited their Guernsey lands. The manor thus fell into the hands

¹ Dupont, t. ii. p. 214, and Extent of 1248.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

of the King, who in 1248 granted it to William de Chesney, Governor of the Islands. It owes "fealty, homage, and relief, with suite and service at the three Chief Pleas."¹ It was also one of the two fiefs, Rohais being the other, that were obliged to keep a prison for felons convicted of minor offences.² The state of the prisons of the thirteenth century may be imagined from an Inquisition of 1274, where we read that the jurors of St. Helier testified that "Nicholas (son of Morout), a clerk, imprisoned on suspicion of larceny by Arnaud Jean,³ was so inhumanly chained up and oppressed that he lost his feet after his acquittal; and that Guillaume Rocelyn, in consequence of a like imprisonment lost the soles of his feet right to the bone," each of the plaintiffs with bitter lamentations exhibiting his grievances in the open Court.

The old manor-house of Anneville, situated on the western side of Sampson's parish, exists, though in a sadly changed condition, as a farmhouse, and there the Court of Anneville is held. The old triple-arched doorway, so like the west door of the Vale Church, survives, and at the back of the house are the ruins of the old manorial chapel dedicated to St. Thomas. The de Chesneys being also seigneurs of the superior fief of Le Comte, Anneville in several instances fell to junior members of the family, and in 1350 we find Sir

¹ Extent of 1607.

² *Les Cours Royales*, etc., p. 184.

³ Governor of the Islands from June 24th, 1271, to April 14th, 1275.

The Channel Islands

Edmond de Chesney, Governor of the Island, while consenting to the fief belonging to his younger brother, especially reserving to himself the right of residence in the manor-house of Anneville whenever he should be in Guernsey. Sir Edmund's youngest sister, Joan, married Denis le Marchant, Lieutenant-Bailiff of Guernsey, and another sister, Eleanor, married first a de Garis, and secondly that Geoffrey Wallis of Jersey whose manor-house and lands were submerged in the great storm of 1359.

This fief remained in the hands of the de Chesneys until Sir Robert Willoughby, afterwards Lord Willoughby de Broke (son of Anne de Chesney, daughter and co-heiress of Sir Edmond de Chesney of Brooke), sold it, February 18th, 1509, "to Nicholas Fouaschin fils Thomas," a member of an old Guernsey family hailing from the parish of St. Pierre-du-Bois.

The purchaser of Anneville was one of the Gentlemen Ushers to King Henry VIII. ; he migrated to Southampton in 1510, and there his name became anglicised to Fachin or Fashion. The fief remained in his family for one hundred and fifty years, until Alice Fashion, "Dame d'Anneville," only child of Thomas Fashion, married Charles Andros in 1660 and brought it into the Andros family, in whose hands it still remains. Of this ancient family, many of whom fought and died for their king and country, Sir Edmund Andros, nephew of the Charles Andros who married Alice Fashion, was the most distinguished member. He was a major of Dragoons, and was

THE PEA STACKS (TAS DE POIS), JERBOURG, GUERNSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

sent to America and made Governor-General of the Province of New York in 1674, in spite of his having been made Bailiff of his native island in that year. He was promoted to be Governor-in-Chief of New England in 1686, and Governor of Virginia and all the American Colonies in 1692. After his return from America he was made Governor of Jersey, 1704-6. He died in 1713, leaving no descendants, and his estates were inherited by his nephews and nieces.

Excepting the de Carterets of St. Ouen, the family of de Sausmarez of Sausmarez Manor may claim a longer connection with their fief than any other seigneurs in the Islands.

Colonel de Havilland quotes¹ from a paper in his possession supposed to have been written by Charles Andros, the husband of Alice Fashion, in which it is stated that Duke William gave certain lands to Guillaume de Sausmarez for the service of being his third "cup-bearer" (*échanson*) whenever he should come to the island.

At what date the "châtellenie" of Jerbourg was added to the seigneurie of Sausmarez is unknown, but in 1299 at the assizes held at St. Peter-Port Matthew de Sausmarez, then a minor, son and heir of Matthew de Sausmarez defunct, with his guardians, Thomas d'Estefeldt² and Robert Blondel, acknowledged that

¹ *Remarks on the Constitution of Guernsey*, by T. F. de H., pp. 101-2.

² His stepfather, married to Alice de St. Romy, heiress to her brother William de St. Romy, Bailiff of Guernsey, and widow of Matthew de Sausmarez senior.

The Channel Islands

he held his fief of Sausmarez from the Crown, as his ancestors had done from time immemorial, by the service of being third cup-bearer to the King, relief, and presence at the three Chief Pleas.

This Matthew claimed the Castle of Jerbourg, which was confirmed to him by Edward III. in 1330, on condition that in time of war the "men of the commonalty of the said Island shall be received there with their goods and chattels." And in this castle Matthew might hold his Court, with his sheriff and his vavasseurs, who "would execute his justice for him, and owed him certain spurs valued twelve sols tournois"; he also was entitled to "the wreck of the sea, free warren, right of chase, and his windmill, to which his men ought to bring timber and millstones at their own cost." His tenants were also "bound to carry the corn and oats of the said Matthew to Normandy wheresoever he shall wish, between St. Michael's Mount and Vauville," at his cost; and should Matthew or his heirs "wish to be carried over to the island of Jersey the said tenants are bound to take him across at their own cost for three sols tournois and one dinner,"¹ which points to an early connection between the two seigneuries of Sausmarez in the two islands. This duty of the tenants to carry their lord over to Jersey was insisted upon in 1798 by the then seigneur of the fief. But he found that the tenant of that period was less docile than the

¹ Special Publication of Société Jersiaise for 1902, pp. 91-4, etc.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

serf of the fourteenth century, and the attempt has not been repeated.

Only a few trenches and grass-grown dykes now mark the spot where once stood the Castle of Jerbourg guarding the isthmus of that name. It was destroyed by the French, and rebuilt, or partially rebuilt, by the inhabitants at various times, but it does not appear to have been finally demolished until about 1806,¹ and to this day the tenants of the Manor have to pay a "chef rente" every year for "keeping the Castle of Jerbourg in repair." It was originally the residence of the de Sausmarez family. The date of the first manor-house is not known, but it was slightly to the south of the present building, which was built in the reign of Queen Anne. Just below its gates is the Court-House, where the feudal Court is still held.

The fief continued in the family of de Sausmarez until the reign of Henry VIII., when John Andros or Andrews, a young Englishman who came to the island in the suite of Sir Peter Meautis, Governor of Guernsey, married, in 1543, Judith de Sausmarez, eventually heiress of the seigneurie. Through this marriage it remained in the Andros family two hundred years, and, as we have seen, they also owned the Fief d'Anneville.

Thomas Andros, a grandson of this John Andros and Judith de Sausmarez, married Elizabeth de Carteret, daughter of Amias de Carteret, Seigneur of

¹ *Sailing Directions*, by Alexander Deschamps, Mariner, p. 53.

The Channel Islands

Trinity, Bailiff of Guernsey, and of Catherine Lemprière, his wife.

A curious account is given in the journal of Sir John Finett of the ceremony of homage to King Charles I. for the fief of Sausmarez, as performed by his son Amias :—

“One Monsr. de Sausmares (father to Amice Andros, Marshall of ye Ceremonies) dying in Guernsey, where he had been by auncient descent of ye Seigneurs (as they are stiled) of that Island, his son was to doe his homage for his tenure there to ye King, as Duke of Normandy ; and by the procurement of ye Earle Marshall, and ye Ld. Chamberlaine, ye Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, obteyned ye discharging of ye Duty to his Ma^{ty} in person, wch. had been by his Father before him to ye Governo^r in ye Island, though of auncienter tymes wont to be done by his Auncestours to ye King himselfe, as it was nowhere in England. The manner of it being thus :

“His Majesty, the 6th of June, 1637, (being a Sermon day) as he passed to Chappell, tooke his seat in his Chayre under ye stall in ye Presence Chamber, ye Sword borne before him by ye Earle of Northumberland, and ye great Lords and officers of State attending ; when ye gentleman mentioned (wayting at ye presence doore) was fetched thence, by and between ye Earle of Arundell, Earle Mareschall of England, and ye Earle of Pembroke and Montgomery, Lord Chamberlaine of his Majesties' Household, through a guard of ye Band of Gentlemen pencion^{rs} ; and after

ST. MARTIN'S CHURCH, GUERNSEY





Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

three reverences laying downe his Sword and Cloake all in forme (as had beene prescribed by Garter King at Arms, Sir John Burrowes) he kneeled downe at his Ma^{ty}'s feete, and with hands closed betweene his Ma^{ty}'s hands pronounced these words in French: 'Sire, je demeure vostre homme à vous porter Foy et Hommage contre tous.'

"To which ye King returned this answer, also in French, 'Nous vous acceptons, advouants tous vos légitimes droits et possessions relevant de ceste teneur de nous; sauf pareillement à tous nos Droits et Régalez.' This said, ye Seigneur de Sausmares, by which name he was thenceforth to be called¹ (quitting his ordinary appellation of Andros), receiving ye honour of a kisse from his Ma^{ty}, rose up, and, with most humble Reverence reassuming his Cloake and Sword, departed."²

The eldest son of Amias Andros, Sir Edmund, who has been already mentioned, had two brothers, John and George, and it was John's grandson, Charles Andros, who in 1748 sold the seigneurie of Sausmarez and the "châtellenie" of Jerbourg to John de Sausmarez, and thus allowed the manor to revert to the descendants in the male line of its original owners. This Charles Andros had married Marie Fiott, sister of the rector of St. Martin's parish, eight years previously, and his wife having no child, he had small

¹ Like Scottish lairds, the seigneurs of the island fiefs were formerly known by the names of their estates.

² From a contemporary MS. in the possession of Lord de Saumarez.

The Channel Islands

compunction in parting with his inheritance ; but less than a year after the sale his eldest son was born. Therefore, in the bitterness of her spirit, his wife—like the Archbishop in the *Morte d'Arthur*—cursed “ in the best manner and the most orguilous ” the mill of Sausmarez—in those days the emblem of seigneurial prosperity—“ that never again should it grind the tenants’ oats or the seigneur’s wheat.” Her curse is said to have been fulfilled, and now the old mill stands idle and forlorn, bereft of its sails, a silent witness of the vengeance of a woman.

The John de Sausmarez who thus bought back the manor, and from whom its present owners are descended, was uncle of the famous Admiral Sir James Saumarez, who for his eminent services was created a baronet and nominated a K.G. in 1801, and thirty years later, on the occasion of the coronation of William IV., was raised to the peerage as Baron de Saumarez. Of him Captain Mahan, the well-known authority on Naval history, says : “ For cool, steady courage, for high, professional skill, for patient, sustained endurance, Saumarez was unsurpassed.”¹ It will not be inappropriate to notice here a feat of his which was performed off the shores of his Guernsey home,² and witnessed with breathless interest by the entire population of the island.

On June 8th, 1794, Sir James’s ship, the *Crescent*,

¹ *Atlantic Monthly* for 1893, p. 618.

² The grounds of his estate of Saumarez in the Castel parish extend towards the western coasts of the island.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

accompanied by the *Druid* and the *Eurydice*, was chased by a French squadron of vastly superior force. When off the west coast of Guernsey, Sir James hauled his wind and stood along the French line, signalling the *Eurydice* and the *Druid* to push on to the Guernsey Roads—an evolution which seemed to make the capture of the *Crescent* inevitable. He then made a feint to run his ship on the rocks to avoid being captured by the enemy, knowing full well that a Guernsey pilot, Jean Breton, was on board who was well acquainted with every local rock and current. Trusting to this man's skill and knowledge, Sir James ordered him to steer the frigate through an intricate passage which none of His Majesty's ships had ever before dared enter. While passing through the narrowest part of the channel, he asked the pilot if he was sure of his marks. "Quite sure," was the answer; "for there is your house and there is mine."¹

The Norman Abbey of Blanchelande was founded in 1154 by Richard de la Haye and Matilda, daughter of William de Vernon, his wife. The arms of de la Haye—argent, a sun in its splendour—were adopted by the Abbey in memory of its founder.² Its possessions in Guernsey dated from 1198, when John, then Earl of Mortain and Seigneur of the Islands, gave it the prebend of Cherbourg, which

¹ *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 477-83; and *The Guernsey and Jersey Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 305.

² *Archives de la Manche*, Série H, Abbaye de Blanchelande, p. 19.

The Channel Islands

included ninety acres¹ of land in Guernsey in the district of Saints in St. Martin's parish. There the Abbot established the Priory of Martinvast, whose head, Robert Toulissac, in 1332 proved his claim to the usual seigneurial rights, and to a mill, which in 1217 had been granted to the Abbey by Robert le Bouteillier, son of Ralph. In 1267 the Abbot of Marmoutiers abandoned to the Abbot of Blanchelande his patronage or right of advowson of St. Martin's Church, and this right was in 1323 successfully maintained by the then Abbot, supported by John le Marchant, Bailiff, and the Royal Court, against King Edward II.

The Priory was situated at the top of the road leading to Saints' Bay, on the right-hand side; the farmhouse now standing there is said to have been built from its stones. This house was given its present name by Edward Mauger, who was taken prisoner by Algerian corsairs in the reign of William III., and sold into slavery in Barbary. Having been ransomed by his sister, on his return he called his house "La Barbarie," in memory of his sufferings. A large cross or "Calvary" stood in the opposite field, which still bears the name of Croisie.

Like all other alien priories, this property was confiscated by Henry V.; and in 1563 it was sold by the Royal Commissioners to Mr. Nicholas Carey for £20 sterling and a little over ten quarters of

¹ "Une caruée et demie": the present computation is 584 vergées or 281 acres.

WATER-MILL AT PETIT BOT, GUERNSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

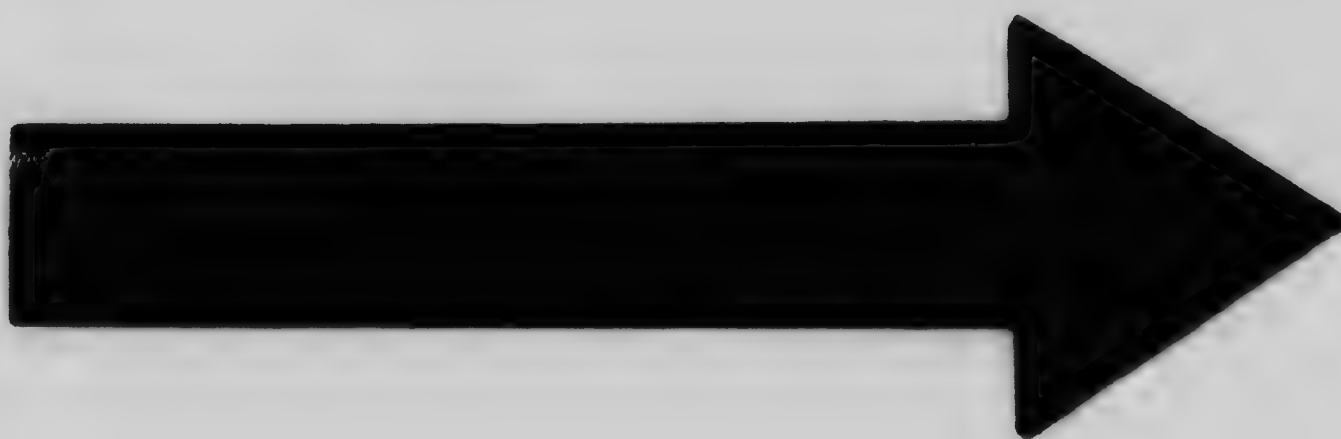
annual wheat rent.¹ All the other ecclesiastical properties in the Islands—such as those belonging to the Abbots of St. Michel and Marmoutiers and the Abbess of Caen—have been retained by the Crown; and it is a curious fact that at the Chief Pleas, when the list of Crown fiefs is read out, the names of the original owners are preserved. For instance, "L'Abbé de Mont St. Michel" or "L'Abbesse de Caen" is called out, and in Guernsey the Procureur—in Jersey the Lieutenant-Governor—makes answer, "Sa Majesté."

Nicholas Carey, the purchaser of Blanchelande, belonged to a family long established in the island. When the Careys came to Guernsey is not known but in the Assize Rolls of 1288 a John Karee is described as "Coustumier² en la Cour du Roi et en la Cour de l'Eglise,"³ and was accused in 1323 of "causing certain parishioners to be summoned before the Ecclesiastical Court on pleas which belong of right to the King's Court," for which he was convicted and "put at the King's mercy." Philip Carée held lands in St. Martin's parish in 1331, and a John Carée in 1364 and 1399; which lands are known to have been held fifty years later by the direct ancestors

¹ Dupont, t. ii, pp. 109-10.

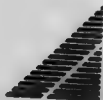
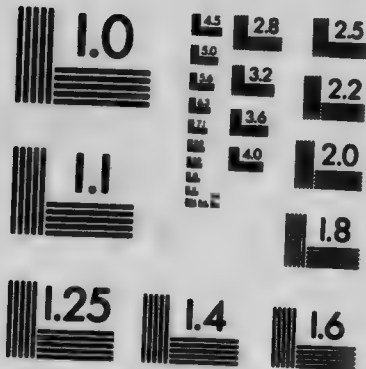
² An office said to be analagous to that of the present King's Receiver.

³ Rot. Miscel. 144 Exchequer (Treasury). This roll is endorsed "La Bellouse, a parish in one of the Channel Islands"; St. Martin's parish in Guernsey being always known in ancient deeds as "St. Martin de la Bellouse," *Beilleuse* to this day being the name of the district surrounding St. Martin's Church.



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The Channel Islands

of the Carey family.¹ The name of de Carrey is also found in the early records of Normandy and Brittany, and was borne by two of the defenders of Mont St. Michel.

Nicholas himself was Seigneur du Mourier in Jersey in right of Catherine Perrin, his grandmother, Co-Seigneur of Ste. Hélène and Seigneur of Mauxmarquis, as well as being a jurat, Queen's Receiver, and Procureur or Attorney-General. He does not seem ever to have lived upon the fief, and in 1647 Thomas Carey, his grandson, sold the site of the old Priory, "les masures et jardins de Blanchelande, situées à Saints," to "Jean Mauger fils Pierre," who is spoken of in a deed of 1656 as "Jean Mauger, dit de l'Abbaye."² This land is still in the hands of the Mauger family, and some of their fields are still called "Les Allées des Moines" and "Les Courtils des Moines."

The last of these Careys was James, who together with his wife and their three children died of smallpox in the short space of time between November 1724 and February 1725, wherefore that branch of the family became extinct and the manor passed to the descendants of Mary Carey, James's aunt, and wife of Daniel le Febvre; the last representative of these

¹ Col. J. H. C. Carey's MSS

² The foundation in Guernsey was only a Priory called Martinvast, and is spoken of as such in all the documents in the possession of the Abbey of Blanchelande, but it evidently got confused in the minds of the Guernsey people with its Norman parent.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

Lefebvres devised the property to Mr. Gosselin, his cousin, on condition of his assuming the name of Lefebvre.

The Court of Blanchelande is held in the house immediately below the site of the old Priory, its owner, instead of paying "chef rente," being obliged by his tenure to supply a room in which the Court can assemble. The Court consists of a *sénéchal*, a *greffier*, a *prevost*, and three *vavasseurs*: of these there were originally six, called the *vavasseurs* "Hervy, Durant, Capis, Au Claire, Becville, and Au Seigneur," but these old names are now obsolete.¹

The tenant of Fief Durant, one of the dependencies of Blanchelande, owes the seigneur a donkey and a cake made of a bushel of wheat.²

Of the smaller fiefs on this division of the island, Ste. Hélène has a curious and little known history. In 1278 William de St. Romy was "attorney" for Otho de Grandison, then Governor in the Islands. In 1281 he was described as a *clerc*, and was the Royal candidate for the vacant preferment of St. Peter-Port Church, in opposition to Peter le Valley, the Papal nominee. As usually happened in his contests with the Church, the King was unsuccessful,

¹ From Mr. John Allez's MSS., as *vavasseur* of Blanchelande.

² In 1887 the *prévôt* of Blanchelande brought an action against three of the tenants for payment of "one fowl, one half and one sixteenth of a fowl, one fortieth and one four hundred and eightieth part of a fowl, twenty-eight eggs, and three-fourths and one-eighth of an egg," fivepence being the usual fine for non-payment. Judgment was given for the plaintiffs by default (*Guernsey Star*, April 26th, 1887).

The Channel Islands

and in 1285 we find William sent on eyre as one of the itinerant justices of the Islands. In 1290 he was made Bailiff of Guernsey, probably the first to fill that office apart from that of Governor. In 1292 the King sanctioned his purchasing the fief of Ste. Hélène from the Abbot and convent of Cormery. By this time he had amassed great wealth in the island, and in 1293 he was ordered by Sir Thomas de Sandwich, Royal Commissioner, to pay various fines and restitutions, but rather than do that he sought refuge in the Church and abjured the island. He was, however, pardoned by the King in 1293, and his lands restored to him by Sir Otho de Grandison the Governor, and he subsequently lost his life in the King's service.

His estates, after much litigation, devolved upon the descendants of his three sisters: Peronelle, who was married to a le Moigne (her granddaughter, Peronelle, married Denis le Marchant); Alice, who was married first to Matthew de Sausmarez, senior, and secondly to Thomas d'Estefelt; and Cecilia, who was married to Robert le Marchant but died without heirs. Ste. Hélène descended to Matthew de Sausmarez, junior, through his mother; it was afterwards divided into two and sold separately to the le Feyvres and Careys, and their representatives were co-seigneurs in the days of Elizabeth. Since then it has passed through many hands, and finally has been sold to a German *chanoinesse* who recently enfranchised all her tenants from all seigneurial dues whatsoever.

In 1331 Bruneaux de St. Martin owed military

MOYE POINT, NEAR LE GOUFFRE, GUERNSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

service of one knight ; Rohais, like Anneville, had to keep a prison for the service of the Court. Burhons and Aufay owed, one a pair of gilt spurs of five sous tournois, the other a pair of white spurs or twelve deniers tournois ; the land is called Les Eperons to this day.

We now come to the portion of the island lying north-west of a line drawn from Pleinmont to Fort Doyle and comprising the parishes of St. Pierre-du-Bois, St. Saviour's, the Câtel, and the Vale. This in the days of William Long-sword belonged to Anchetil, Vicomte du Bessin ; and was subsequently divided in nearly equal proportions between the Abbey of Mont St. Michel in Normandy and the Earls of Chester, descendants of Anchetil ; the lands held by the Abbey being called Fief St. Michel, and those held by the earls Fief le Comte, and the Abbey retaining the patronage of the churches. Soon after 1179 Fief le Comte passed into the hands of Baldwin Wake, son of Hugh, and husband of Agnes de Hommet daughter of the Constable of Normandy.

In 1248, either by purchase or inheritance, the whole of this fief belonged to Robert de Vere, whose son Baldwin sold it in 1253 to Sir William de Chesney and Felicia his wife.¹ Sir William, as we have seen,² had already been given the fief of Anneville. His seal, dated 1253, *Sigillum Wil(l)mi Chainé*, bearing "four fusils in fesse," and thus having a curious affinity

¹ *Cotentin et ses Iles*, t. ii. p. 22.

² P. 67.

The Channel Islands

to the arms of the d'Albinis and de Carterets,¹ is in the Bibliothèque Nationale.

Sir Nicholas de Chesney, his eldest son, was Governor of the Islands in 1294 and 1297, and so was his grandson, Sir Edmund de Chesney. Of his granddaughters, married, one, to a de Garis and the other to Denis le Marchant, mention has already been made. The Fief le Comte, together with the Fief d'Anneville, was sold in 1509 by Sir Robert Willoughby, heir, through his mother, of the de Chesneys, to Nicholas Fouaschin, and for another hundred and fifty years the two fiefs remained united under the same seigneur. The Fief le Comte was undoubtedly the noblest and the most important in the island. Its seigneurs had the powers of life and death over their tenants, as well as of "chapels, colombiers, warrens, fish-ponds, varech, mills, the chase of hares and rabbits, and free market on Les Landes;"² and three sous were payable to the lord of the manor on the marriage of any tenant's daughter.

The Court of Le Comte, consisting of a sénéchal, eight vavasseurs, a greffier, and three sergeants (or bordiers), still meet in a small building near St. George. Before the old chapel of St. George was destroyed, the Court was held there. Until comparatively recent times it was the recording Court for all contracts

¹ The arms seem subsequently to have been differenced by each fusil being charged with an escallop sable.

² Evidence given by Thomas Fashion before Queen Elizabeth's Commissioners in 1597. Fief le Comte MSS.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

relating to property on the fief, and retained its rights as a Petty Court for debts and minor police cases. It has a seal of its own, which is still in existence. In 1597 Thomas Fashon claimed that this seal had been given by John Earl of Mortain, and that it represented Sampson d'Anneville, but according to Sir Edgar MacCulloch it "dates from about the beginning of the fifteenth century, and represents a knight on foot in full plate armour in the act of drawing or sheathing his sword; the nimbus round his head, and the letters S. G. above his shoulders, leave no doubt that the figure is intended to represent St. George."

In 1629 Fief St. George, then a dependency of Fief le Comte, was sold by George Fashon to Nicholas de Jersey, whose only child Marie married Jacques Guille in 1638, and so brought this fief into the Guille family, in whose hands it still remains.

Among the Andros family records is one describing how George Fashon, Seigneur of Le Comte and Anneville, did homage for his fiefs on August 6th, 1610. He appeared before Lord Carew, Governor of Guernsey, who was seated in the great hall of Castle Cornet surrounded by the Bailiff, jurats, and Crown officers. The form of procedure was similar to that observed in the case of Amias Andros, Seigneur of Sausmarez,² except that Lord Carew was

¹ Notices of Old Guernsey Churches and Chapels in *St. Peter-Port Parish Magazine* for 1874-5.

² *Ibid.*, pp. 72-3.

The Channel Islands

said to represent King James, "King of Great Britain, France, and Ireland," and "true, natural, and legitimate Duke and Sovereign Lord of this Duchy of Normandy."¹

The Fief le Comte was in 1630 sold by George Fashion to Peter Priaulx, one of the few Guernseymen who during the Wars of the Commonwealth were partisans of the Stuarts. In 1644 Priaulx was accused of being involved in a plot for "seizing the places called Gerbourg and the Castle of the Valie, and by this means to keep strong there for Sir P. Osborne";² the said Sir Peter being a staunch Royalist and then engaged in holding Castle Cornet for the King and shelling the Island, which was Republican. By the irony of fate, a shell from the Castle, at that time commanded by Sir Baldwin Wake, struck and killed Peter Priaulx in 1650. His great-grandson, Thomas Priaulx, sold the fief in 1722 to Eleazar le Marchant, and through the le Marchants it passed to the grandmother of the present seigneur, Mr. Francis P. Hutchesson.

There has been abolished only within the last twenty-five years a curious *redevance* due to the seigneur of this fief by his tenants whose lands bordered on Vazon Bay—namely, a yearly payment of one double³ per pig on each pig reared. For this payment the tenants were originally entitled to send their pigs

¹ Mr. A. C. Andros in the *Guernsey Star*, October 12th, 1882.

² *Actes des Etats*, p. 258.

³ A small copper coin value one-eighth of a penny.

WASHING AT A STREAM AT VAZON, GUERNSEY



Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

to graze in the now submerged Forest of Vazon, of which possibly vestiges remained in and about Vazon Bay after the creation of Fief le Comte.¹

The Priory of St. Michel-du-Valle was a dependency of the famous Abbey of Mont St. Michel in Normandy. According to a tradition dating from the days of Edward II., this Priory was founded by certain monks who were driven from the parent establishment about the year 968, but still maintained connection with the Abbey; the Abbot of Mont St. Michel was the seigneur of the fief of St. Michel in Guernsey, and in the thirteenth century we find him engaged in a protracted lawsuit with the de Chesneys, Seigneurs of Le Comte, regarding their respective rights.² The Vale Church was undoubtedly built under the auspices of this Abbey; the date of the earlier part, namely, the nave, chancel, and base of the tower, being supposed to be contemporary with Robert de Torigni (1154-86), one of its most famous Abbots.

To the south-east of the Vale Church is an old farmhouse still bearing the name of L'Abbaye, and doubtless standing on the site of the original Priory, which was in a ruinous state as early as the reign of Henry IV., for we find Sir John de Lisle, Governor of Guernsey, in 1406 asking permission to use the

¹ From Mr. John le Mottée's MSS.

² Much of the land belonging to the Fief St. Michel seems to have been given from pious motives by private donors, such as La Perrenne by J. Pichenote (*circa* 1054), Rosell by Robert Patry and Philippa de Rosel in 1172, etc.

The Channel Islands

timber of the buildings for the repairs of Castle Cornet, "as the Priory had fallen into decay."

The Priory had the largest feudal Court of all the seigneuries, consisting of a sénéchal, eleven vavasseurs,¹ a greffier, six bordiers, and a wand-bearer, or *porte-lance*. The official seal of the fief represented the Archangel Michael trampling Satan under foot.

One of the principal duties of this Court was to see that the King's highway was kept in proper order, and for this purpose the officer of the Court, mounted on horseback, accompanied by thirty-six *pions*, or footmen, and various Crown officers, had to ride round the accustomed highways once in three years, and every obstacle encountered by the wand of the *porte-lance*—eleven and a quarter feet long—had to be cleared away. These processions, called *chevauchées*, were attended by many curious rites and customary observances,² one of them being the immemorial privilege of the *pions*—who were chosen for their good looks—of kissing every woman they met, whatever her degree, though only one *pion* was allowed to kiss the same lady. The Abbot owed three dinners a year to the Crown officers,³ and had to provide them with three horses and two "valets" for the *chevauchée*, for which also he had to provide the dinner; but he could insist that a Saturday (the

¹ There were originally twelve, but in the seventeenth century one of them, Jean Vivien, drowned himself, and no one ever dared to replace him. (*Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 59-77.)

² *Ibid.*

³ This right was renounced by Henry III. in 1218.

Fiefs and Feudal Tenures

market-day) should intervene between the dates of deciding on and celebrating this event, so that he might be able to provide the necessary provisions.¹

The last chevauchée took place in Guernsey on May 31st, 1837, and the Court itself was abolished soon after. The Jersey equivalent of this chevauchée is called "Une Visite Royale."

Many curious old feudal *redevances*, or rent services, are to be found in old deeds and "Livres de Perchage." A chaplet of roses on St. John's Day (June 24th) is pretty often met with. Among the possessions of Denis le Marchant in 1393 was a rent of this character payable by John Benest.² In 1615 we find a later Denis le Marchant suing Jean Olliver, junior, "à cause de sa femme" for a "chapeau de roses." And in 1618 Thomas Lemprière, of Jersey, bought a rent of a "bracelet or chaplet of roses, containing as many roses as are necessary to make a wreath, the said wreath to be the thickness of a man's arm or head."³

A still more curious rent was that owed by Thomas Sandre, who was brought before the Royal Court of Guernsey in June 1591 and ordered to pay "devant soleil couché," on pain of imprisonment, to "Mr. Jean de Sausmarez fils Colin" a dozen butterflies.

Nor have all these quaint payments yet become obsolete. To this day Sieur A. Breton, of St. Saviour's,

¹ Dupout, t. ii. p. 243.

² "Bille de Partage" of Denis le Marchant, 1393.

³ The Rev. J. A. Messervy's MSS.

The Channel Islands

pays the heirs of the late Miss E. Guille, of St. George, 4s. 3½d. a year, "équivalent" of "une chartée de cendres" (a cartload of ashes); and a Mrs. Bourgaize pays 4s. 6d. a year, representing eighteen eels, to the heirs of Mr. Allez. Messrs. Groves & Son, purchasers of a house in the Commercial Arcade, can be called upon by the churchwardens to provide, when required, the rope for the big bell of the parish church; and the Seigneur of Bruneaux de St. Martin is owed by the tenants of one of his minor fiefs a chicken, and with the attention to detail characteristic of the Middle Ages, it is prescribed that its tail must be an inch long ("un poussin avecque une pousse de queue") as the Livre de Perchage expresses it.

A FARMYARD, GUERNSEY



CHAPTER IV
LAW COURTS AND OFFICIAL SEALS

It was also objected, that those who had been so long in the habit of deciding the law for themselves, would not be inclined, to receive it from any one else.—*Second Report of the Commissioners on Criminal Law in the Channel Islands*, p. 17.

Dogberry. You are to bid any man stand, in the prince's name.

Second Watch. How if a' will not stand?

Dogberry. Why then, take no note of him, but let him go.

—*Much Ado about Nothing*, Act III. sc. iii.

CHAPTER IV

LAW COURTS AND OFFICIAL SEALS

STARTING no doubt from similar constitutions, the two principal islands have in the course of time diverged considerably from one another. Each, indeed, has its Lieutenant-Governor, Bailiff, Dean, States Assembly, and Royal Court, but the rights and privileges of the principal officers and assemblies vary exceedingly.¹ Since 1290, as we have seen, Jersey on the one hand, and Guernsey and the lesser islands on the other, have been divided into separate civil governments, each consisting of a Bailiff, a Royal Court, and various Crown officers. In Guernsey, until 1813, the Bailiff's salary was thirty livres tournois or about two guineas sterling; but he was also entitled to two pots of wine from every foreign ship unloading wines in the island. In 1813 his salary was raised to £300 a year, and quite recently it was made £1,000 a year. In Jersey the Bailiff's salary was £7 4s. sterling a year until 1615, when the King augmented

¹ *The Channel Islands*, by Ansted and Latham, 3rd ed. (by Nicolle), p. 420.

The Channel Islands

it to £50 a year. In 1797 it was raised to £300 a year,¹ and it now stands at £1,250.

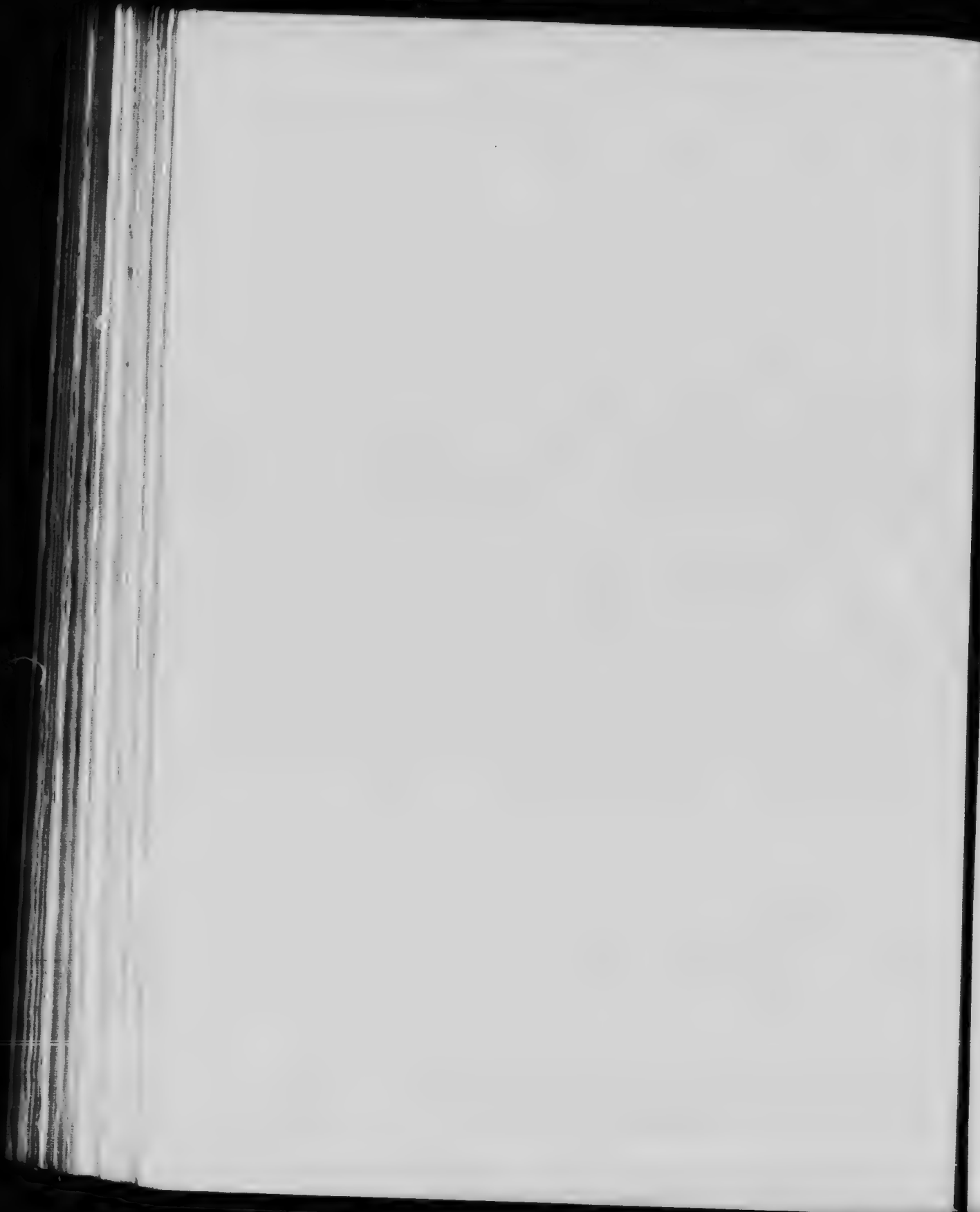
Each Bailiff presides over a Court consisting of twelve jurats—*jurés-justiciers*. In Jersey (where the members of the Court wear scarlet mantles) the jurats are elected by those ratepayers who are British subjects. No special legal training is required in their case, nor even in that of the Bailiff—indeed, in 1832 the Court asserted that it was not necessary to study for the law in order to become a good judge in Jersey, but that the knowledge of the principles of law was best achieved by long practice in business. Certain callings, however—such as those of butcher, baker, brewer, or publican—are considered as disqualifications, and, according to ancient custom, nobody ought to be elected a jurat who does not own at least forty quarters of wheat rent. In Guernsey (where the jurats wear purple robes) up to about 1582 they were elected by “the constables of each parish taking the voices of all the ratepayers of their parish at the church door immediately after divine service;”² but now they are chosen by the Elective States. The jurats were formerly chosen only from the best born and richest men—as the Precepte d’Assize of 1331 directs, “from the most notable and discreet, wise, loyal, and rich men of the island.” Except for certain fees, and occasional dinners due to them by the Crown, this office has no emoluments. Among the early

¹ *Cours Royales*, p. 40.

² Warburton's *Treatise on the History, etc., of Guernsey*, p. 52.

MOORED AT ST. BRELADÉ, JERSEY





Law Courts and Official Seals

Channel Islands Petitions preserved in the Record Office is one from John Estur, of Guernsey, complaining that "whereas there are in the said isle twelve jurats, who ought to be so well off that they can serve the King in that office without impoverishment of their estate, now plaintiff has been chosen for the said office and is obliged to get his livelihood by merchandise, so prays he may be dismissed."¹ There is no date to this petition, but as a John Estur was a jurat in 1331, it is presumably of about that year.

In olden days there were certain privileges attached to the office. By a Guernsey Ordonnance of 1548 only jurats and rectors and a few other notable people might shoot hares and rabbits in the Island, and the jurats, with the Governor and Bailiff, were the first persons to be served with meat by the butchers. A jurat was also entitled to be addressed as "Monsieur" or "Esquire" in Guernsey, and as "honnête homme" in Jersey, where indeed the slightly invidious decree was issued in 1610 that no man was to be called "honnête homme" except "gentilshommes ou officiers de la Cour Royale."²

Inasmuch, however, as the office of jurat lasts for a man's life, people have sometimes been elected who were unwilling to sit. Thus, in Guernsey, Jean de Vyver was fined for this reason in 1304; and in 1798 Mr. John Tupper, having threatened to leave

¹ Soc. Jers. Publication Spéciale, 1902, p. 76.

² Soc. Jers. 11^{me} Bulletin, p. 127.

The Channel Islands

the island sooner than be sworn in after his election, was warned that should he do so he would be fined £100.

In Guernsey both the Bailiff and the jurats by their oath of office are bound to resist the Papal Supremacy, whereas in Jersey there are no religious disabilities. In Jersey the Crown officers are called the Procureur-General and Avocat-General, in Guernsey the King's Procureur and King's Comptroller (the local Attorney-General and Solicitor-General), while the law is further represented by the *avocats* and *écrivains* attached to each Court. In both islands until quite recently the number of advocates was limited to six; in Jersey their nomination was in the gift of the Bailiff, and no previous examination was necessary; while in Guernsey they were nominated by the Royal Court. All advocates now have to pass a local examination and to attain to the degree of an English barrister-at-law, or of a French *licencié en droit*. By their oath they are bound only to undertake just causes, and not to prolong their suits by vain chicaneries.

In 1593 a dispute took place in Guernsey between the Bailiff, Louis de Vic, and the Crown officers. A man had been imprisoned in Castle Cornet for theft, and the Sheriff, the Procureur, the Comptroller, and the bordiers were ordered to fetch him from the castle and bring him to the Court. The Sheriff protested that hours of his valuable time had recently been spent trying to catch a felon who had run away

Law Courts and Official Seals

from him in transit, pointed out that he was quite unable to compel any one to accompany him, and expressed a hope that in future prisoners would be handed over to him by the gaoler securely tied with ropes. John de Vic, the Procureur, declared that it was not his business either to accompany the Sheriff or to supply the cords wherewith to bind the prisoners, and sooner than be compelled to do either he would resign his office. The Bailiff therefore decided that only one of the Crown officers need accompany the Sheriff officially, and the Procureur finally consented to go. When they reached the castle it was decided by them that the Comptroller, John le Marchant, should supply the rope. This he declined to do, and on his reiterated refusals, he was himself committed to prison until the Court could decide what course to pursue.¹

In both islands the greffier is the Clerk and Registrar of the Court, and has to keep the public records. In 1320 it was decreed that he was not to be chosen from the ranks of merchants or publicans.

In Jersey there are two official appointments unknown to the Guernsey Court, that of "Vicomte" and that of "Dénonciateur." The Vicomte was originally—until this honour was wrested from him by the insular Governors—the "Vice-Comte," or King's representative in the Islands (the King being the descendant of the Norman Dukes, who were

¹ *Court Rolls*, Livre No. 36, i. fol. 99

The Channel Islands

styled indifferently *ducs, marquis, or comtes*).¹ Thus he was formerly exclusively a Crown officer, though he is now likewise a Court official. He is a coroner, and the chief executive officer both in civil and criminal cases; he has to see that the sentences of the Court are carried into execution, and that the roads are kept in proper repair. The two *Dénonciateurs* are minor officials named by the Bailiff, and have to carry before the Court the Mace presented to it by Charles II. Jersey has ten *prévôts* or summoning officers, who are merely feudal officers, are elected by the tenants on the Crown fiefs in each parish, and have to watch over the Royal interests in their fiefs. In Guernsey there is but one Sheriff elected by the States, who fulfils to a certain extent the office of the Jersey vicomte, and of an English bailiff. He has also to regulate all weights and measures, and mark them with a rose and a fleur-de-lys—a stamp frequently seen on the rims of the old pewter measures so dear to collectors.

In Guernsey a Crown officer called the "Sergent"—in the Middle Ages known as the "*Bedeau*"—acts as the usher to the Court. The corresponding official in Jersey is called the "*Huissier*."

The Royal Courts are the criminal tribunals in both islands, and have jurisdiction over all offences committed in their bailiwicks except treason, coining, and laying violent hands on the bailiffs or jurats, for which the punishments are reserved to the Crown.

¹ *Cours Royales, etc.*, p. 85.

L'ETAC, JERSEY



Law Courts and Official Seals

In Jersey, trial by jury has existed since 1786 ; but it has never been known in Guernsey, where the jurats constitute both judge and jury. French is still the official language in Court ; but in both islands the use of English has recently been made optional in the local Parliament or "States." The Jersey Court House, or Cohue Royale, is situated in the Market Place or Royal Square. It was originally a small thatched building erected in the twelfth century ; in 1542 the Vicomte was ordered to see that a bar was erected in front of the jurats' bench, to prevent outsiders coming in to listen and interrupt by thrusting their heads between the jurats' knees. It was rebuilt by Sir George Carteret in 1697, and has lately been much enlarged and redecorated.

In Guernsey, up to the seventeenth century, justice was administered in a building in the Market Place, which served the double purpose of a corn market and a Court House, and by a special Ordinance was to be cleared at noon, so that the market might commence. It was afterwards removed to the Pollet, to a locality still called from that circumstance La Plaiderie ; in course of time this being found too small and inconvenient, the present building was erected in 1799, and enlarged in 1903.

The States in Jersey comprise the Lieutenant-Governor, the Bailiff, the twelve jurats, the twelve rectors, the twelve constables, and fourteen deputies ; and also the Crown officers, who are allowed to speak but not to vote.

The Channel Islands

In Guernsey there are two "States," the Elective and the Deliberative. The former comprises the Royal Court and the parochial officers (such as constables, *douzeniers*, etc.), and numbers 234 members; the latter consists of forty-eight members only—the Bailiff, the twelve jurats, the ten rectors, the Procureur, the Comptroller, and fifteen delegates and nine deputies; the Lieutenant-Governor may speak but cannot vote. In these States the island laws, taxes, and Ordonnances are passed, judicial and legislative powers being thus united, and they are at the same time "a Vestry, a Convocation, a Municipality, and a Parliament."¹

It is probable that these States were originally constituted on the model of the *Trois Etats* in Normandy, the Bailiff and jurats corresponding to the Noblesse, the rectors of the parishes answering to the Clergy, and the *douzaines*—an elected body in each parish—answering to the *tiers état* or Bourgeoisie.

Each of the two islands has its own laws, founded in the first place on *Le Grand Coustumier de Normandie*—a work compiled in the thirteenth century—and, according to Sir Edward Coke, "compounded of some English laws given by Edward the Confessor and of divers customs of the Duchy of Normandy"—and secondly on a treatise by Terrien, Lieutenant-Bailiff of Dieppe in the sixteenth century, which brought the Norman law down to the time of Queen Elizabeth. Besides these main sources of law,

¹ *Channel Islands*, by Ansted and Latham, 3rd ed. p. 443.

Law Courts and Official Seals

there are also in force various Royal Charters, Orders of the Sovereign in Council, Ordinances of the local Legislature, and such Statutes of the Realm as have been approved by the States and registered at the *Greffes*. In Guernsey the Ordinances framed by the Royal Court at once become law, but since 1771 the Jersey Court has been deprived of a similar privilege.

One of the most curious legal survivals in the Islands is the "*Clameur de Haro*." It was abolished in Normandy in 1583, but to this day any Channel Islander who thinks his property is encroached upon or his rights infringed by the action of another may raise the *clameur*—that is, in presence of two witnesses, generally the constables of his parish, while kneeling on the ground, he cries: "*Haro! Haro! Haro! à l'aide, mon Prince! on me fait tort!*" and then he repeats the Lord's Prayer in French. This is considered tantamount to an injunction to stay proceedings until the case is tried before the Court. It is a remarkable feature in this case that the prosecution is carried on by the Crown, and that the losing party, whether plaintiff or defendant, is mulcted in a small fine to the King, because the sacred name of "*Haro*" is not to be carelessly invoked with impunity. At one time *Ha-Ro* was supposed to imply *Ha-Rollo*—the first Duke of Normandy being considered to be the person thus appealed to—but modern writers generally agree that this custom was in common use in Neustria long before the Norman invasion by

The Channel Islands

Rollo and his Northmen, and that the word "Haro" is probably derived from the Frankish verb *haran*, to shout, and is thus nearly akin to the English word "Hurrah !"

The succession to land is different in the two islands. In Jersey the eldest son inherits the principal house and about two acres of land adjoining, with one-tenth of the remaining real property, including *rentes* ; the remainder is shared equally among the children. In Guernsey the eldest son only inherits about one-sixth of an acre with the house, but if he wishes to have the rest of the land to which he can have access without crossing a public road, he is entitled to buy off his brothers and sisters at a valuation. With regard to the personal property, he only gets one-seventh more than his co-heirs.

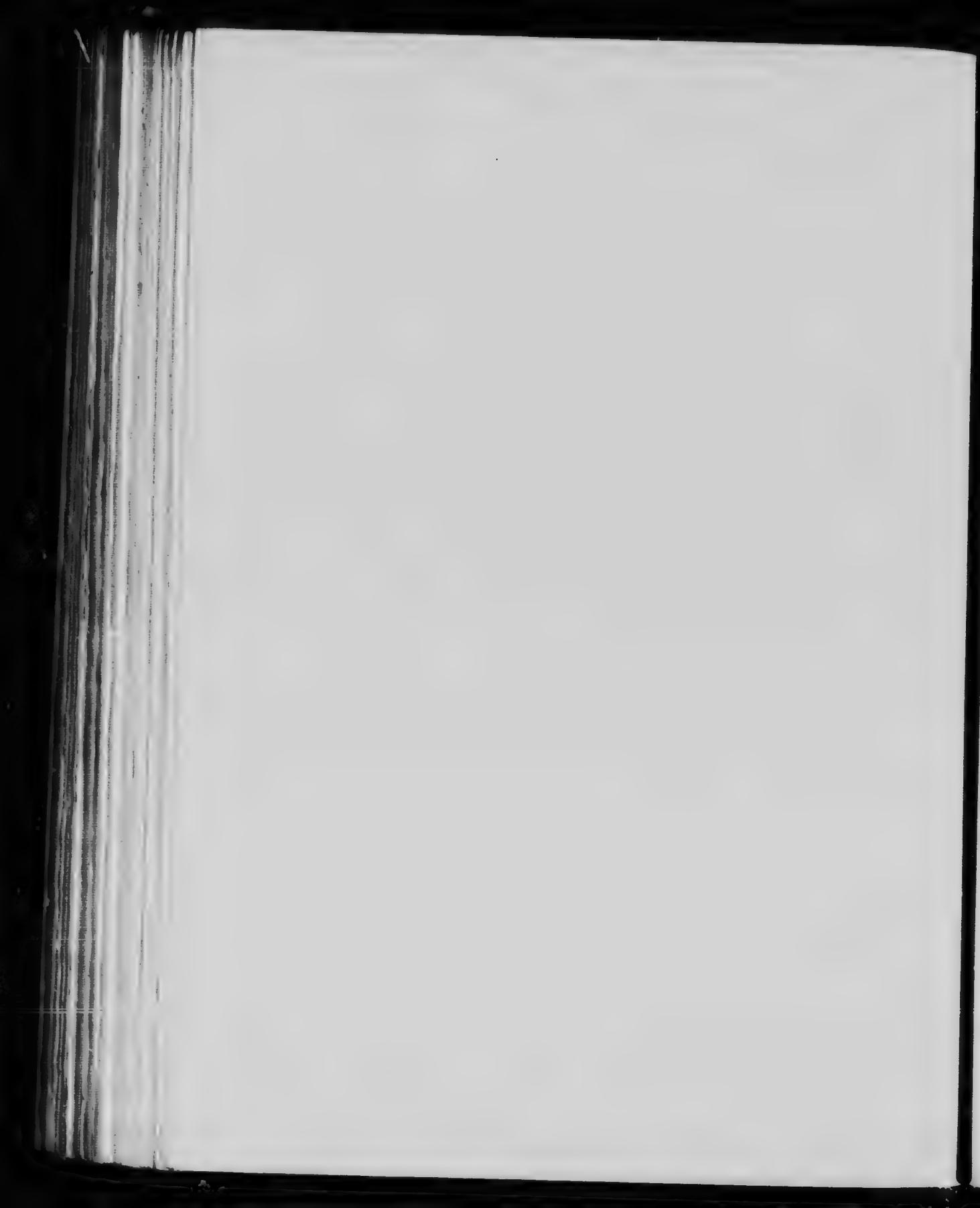
Jersey and Guernsey also differ from each other in the size and capacity of their weights and measures ; in Jersey $2\frac{1}{4}$ vergées go to an acre, in Guernsey $2\frac{1}{2}$. Jersey ounces and pounds are lighter than the Guernsey measures, though in both islands these weights represent more than their equivalents do in England.

The barbarity of our ancestors is well exemplified by some of the old records of the Royal Courts. Perhaps the most terrible case is that of three unfortunate Protestants, Catherine Cauchez and her two daughters, who by order of Dean Amy¹ and Bailiff Gosselin were burnt

¹ Jacques Amy, Rector of St. Saviour's and Dean of Guernsey, was a Jerseyman, and his uncle Raulin left by his will, dated 1515, forty crowns for his education (*Armorial*, p. 27).

THE NEEDLE ROCK, GRÈVE AU LANÇON, JERSEY





Law Courts and Official Seals

for heresy on July 18th, 1556. The execution, according to tradition, took place in the centre of the open spot in the Bordage which in those days lay just below the Tour de Beauregard. In the midst of the flames one of the women, Perotine Massey, was delivered of a son, whom a man called House raked out of the faggots and brought to Hellier Gosselin.¹ "Throw it back into the flames," was the Bailiff's order, and it was immediately carried out.

Roman Catholic writers have tried to prove that these women were burnt for theft and general depravity, and not for their religion ; but in the Statute Books of the Royal Court—where realistic thumbnail sketches of their execution are to be found—"heresy" is the crime imputed to them.

In both islands many miserable wretches were banished, tortured, and burnt for reputed sorcery and witchcraft. The details of their examinations and confessions resemble all other recorded witch trials, which bears out the theory that such survivals of clandestine rites and customs are a record of the submerged and primitive creeds which the influx of more modern religions has never wholly evicted from their strongholds in the minds of humanity.

It was not even considered necessary that accusations

¹ Hellier Gosselin belonged to a family which, originally of position and influence in Guernsey, migrated to Jersey at an early period ; his father, Thomas Gosselin, was a jurat in the Jersey Court from 1506 to 1524. Hellier was the first of the family to return to Guernsey, which he did before 1541, and he is the ancestor of the once numerous Gosselin family of that island.

The Channel Islands

of witchcraft should be proved. Thus, Jeanne Behot, living in Alderney, was in 1619 brought before Amias de Carteret, Bailiff of Guernsey, and the Royal Court, on suspicion of witchcraft; and though after long imprisonment and repeated examinations nothing could be proved against her, yet "pour éviter au grand scandale et treneur de ceux parmi lesquels elle a vescu cy-devant" she was condemned to perpetual banishment and her goods were sequestrated.¹

In 1611 Pierre Guillart, for having purloined five pairs of woollen stockings from a boat bound for St. Malo, was condemned to twenty-four lashes, twelve at the carrefours of the Town and twelve on the pier.²

Some of the instruments used for punishment were the pillory, the cage, and the stocks. In Guernsey the pillory and the cage used to stand in the small open space near the top of Cow Lane and opposite the north door of the Town Church, but about the year 1783 they were transferred to the neighbourhood of the present French Halles and Market Square. A new wooden cage, a narrow box of open woodwork, made to revolve on a stand, had to be built in 1650,

¹ Details of these trials are given in Sir Edgar MacCulloch's *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 289-331, and in *Witchcraft and Devil-lore in the Channel Islands*, by Mr. J. Linwood Pitts.

² Much value was attached to woollen goods at that time. Up to the middle of the eighteenth century knitting was one of the principal industries of the Islands, and wool was the chief import. Every one knitted—men, women, and children. A Jersey Act of Court of 1615 forbade Philip Picot to knit in company with young girls for fear of scandal, and ordered him, should he continue to knit, to do so in his own house and by himself.

Law Courts and Official Seals

the old one having been broken down by the cannon of Castle Cornet.¹

In 1619 Jean le Normant, for having refused to submit to the sentence of the Court—viz. that he should be exposed in the pillory to public view—had that sentence confirmed, and for his contumacy was further to receive twelve strokes of the whip from the Court House to the cage, and then to be put into the cage. In 1608 a man convicted of larceny was condemned to be flogged at every carrefour in the Town till the blood came, to be attached to the pillory by one of his ears, of which the tip was to be subsequently cut off, and then to be banished. In 1614 Pierre Salmon, for stealing pea-sticks, was ordered to be at once put in the stocks until sunset, and on the next morning (Sunday), under pain of the whip, to go to his parish church of St. Pierre-du-Bois and there be put in the stocks from the beginning of matins until the end of the evening service—and they had long sermons in those days.

But the most curious sentence of all was that on Samuel Sauvary for stealing wheat in 1615. He was ordered to be flogged in the Vale School by the scholars, under the supervision of the Comptroller.²

In Guernsey, even as late as the beginning of last century, offenders convicted of petty larceny were marched scantily clad from the prison, accompanied by the bordiers, down High Street to the Market Place, and there attached to one of the pillars of the

¹ Elie Brevint's MSS.

² Le Marchant MSS.

The Channel Islands

French Halles and publicly lashed by the executioner till the blood flowed.

An eyewitness thus describes a similar punishment which he saw inflicted in Jersey in 1829: "A naked, shrieking wretch with a cord round his neck, halberds pointed at his breast to prevent his hurrying forwards, his back streaming with blood, his face turned imploringly towards the surgeon who walked beside the executioner, followed by a brutal and unsympathetic mob."¹

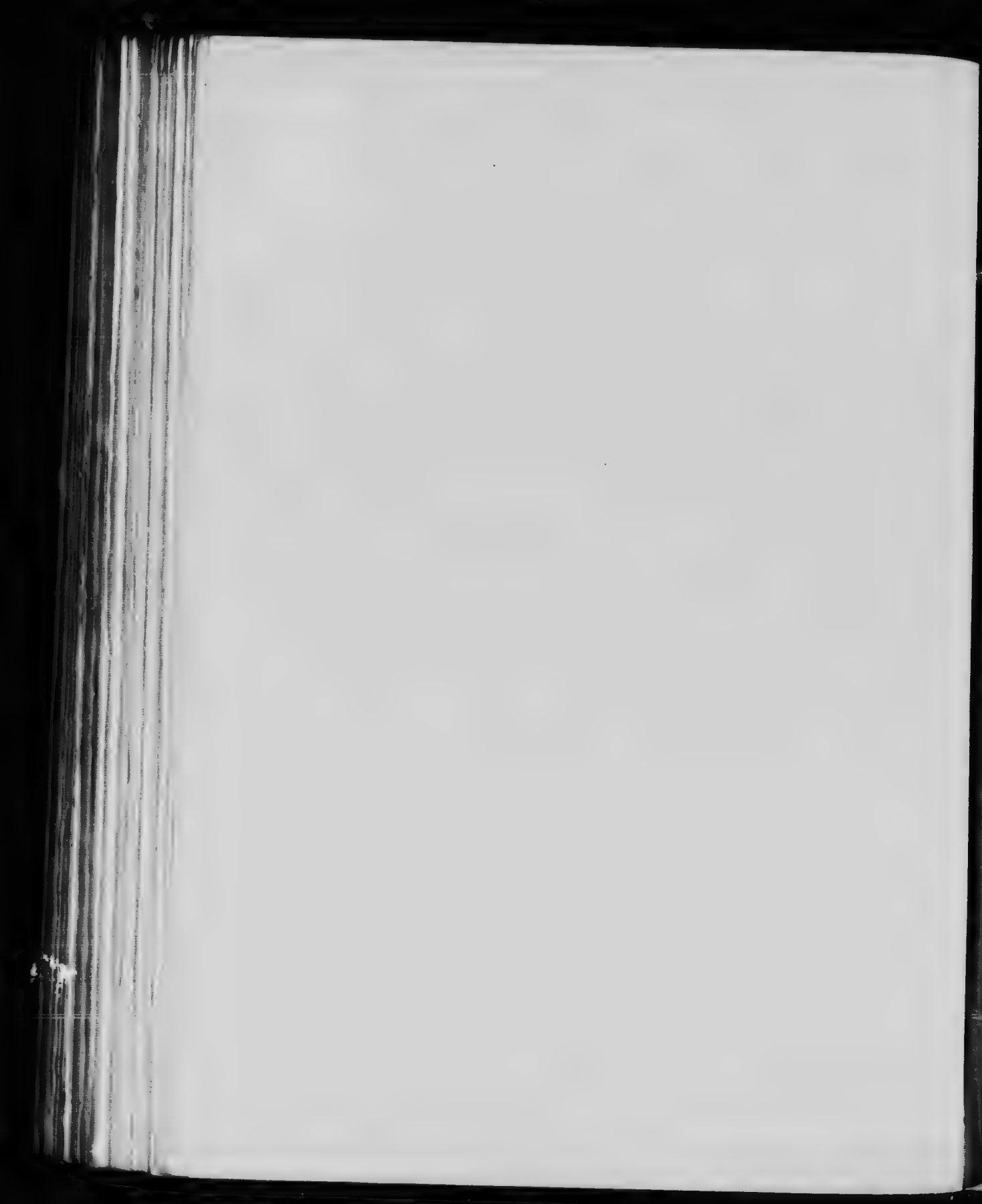
The pillory and the stocks survived until about that date, and the cage even a little later; but now they have long since disappeared.

In the sixteenth century, when the influence of Calvinism began to be felt, all frivolities were severely repressed in both the islands. This policy was intended to supply a defect consequent upon the abolition of the old Church Courts, and proceeded upon the idea, handed down for ages, that penal laws were fitted to extinguish individual vice as well as to suppress social crime. After 1566 Ordinance after Ordinance was issued forbidding dancing and the singing of worldly songs; and finally in 1583 it was decreed that any one found dancing or singing in public should be taken on the following Sunday to the nave of his parish church, and there, with his head, legs, and feet bare, clad only in a linen sheet, and holding a lighted torch in one hand, publicly do penance for his offence.

¹ *Blackwood's Magazine*, vol. lxxxii. p. 223.

THE TOWN CHURCH, ST. PETER-FORT, QUEENSEY





Law Courts and Official Seals

Sumptuary laws were also enacted—like those of the Scottish Parliament to save the purses of “mony folk that are very unabill to sustain that coaste.” In 1574 maidservants or lodging-house keepers’ daughters were forbidden to wear silver ornaments, muslin kerchiefs, velvets, or silks, excepting for the purpose of tying their garments together; and in Jersey they were not allowed to wear any lace worth more than sevenpence-halfpenny a yard. In 1631 the Puritans doubled the fine attached to this offence, and added that those who could not pay the fine were to be “sévèrement châtiées par le corps.”¹

For a long time the islands had no official seal, but on November 15th, 1279, Edward I. sent them one. This Royal Seal disappeared long ago, but an impression of it is preserved in the National Archives of Paris. It bore the “three leopards passant” of England and the legend *S. Ballivie Insularum pro Rege Anglie*. It was only used up to 1302, the time when Jersey and Guernsey each began to have its own Bailiff. Then the want of separate seals was felt, and before 1306 a seal was made for each separate bailiwick on the model of King Edward’s seal, bearing the legends *S. Ballivie insule de Jeresie* and *de Gernereye* respectively. The latter had above the arms a sprig of laurel, which was supposed to commemorate some early exploit against the French.

The first known impression of the seal of the bailiwick of Guernsey is on a document of 1315

¹ *Recueil d’Ordonnances*, pp. 52-3, etc.

The Channel Islands

preserved in the French National Archives, bearing on the obverse the arms of Matthew de la Cour, then Bailiff—a bust in profile sinister, with an arm dexter supporting a bird.¹ In 1832 this seal was supposed to be too much worn for further use, so a new one was made on the old pattern, and the old seal remained in the hands of the Bailiff.

It has always been the custom in both islands for the Bailiffs to counterseal with their own arms the official seal of the bailiwick when affixed to contracts, etc., just as the seneschals, especially those of St. Michel and Le Comte, used to counterseal the official seals of their fiefs; and it is these old impressions which are the earliest evidences the Islanders have of the antiquity of their arms.

The Islands were separated from Normandy too early to have their arms registered in any Norman College of Arms, and not being under English law they were no more subject to the jurisdiction of the English Heralds' College than either Scotland or Ireland. In the fifteenth century a pursuivant known as "Mont Orgueil Herald" existed in the College of Arms, and was possibly meant to represent the Islands, for in the British Museum is a memorandum that on January 15th, 1494, £2 is granted to "Mount Orgyll pursuivant of Garnsey";² but no official records made by him of insular pedigrees are known. In 1516 Randolph Jackson, then Mont

¹ *Cours Royales*, pp. 161-4.

² Col. J. H. C. Carey's notes from Add. MSS. 28018, vol. ii. p. 33.

Law Courts and Official Seals

Orgueil Pursuivant, was made Herald in Ordinary, but a few years later he surrendered his patent and was created Chester Herald, and the office of Mont Orgueil Herald ceased.

No heraldic visitation was ever sent to the Islands, and few families registered their arms in England except those who acquired property and settled there.

As Payne says in his *Armorial of Jersey*,¹ the sources of the Islanders' arms are "chiefly from immemorial prescription, sometimes from plagiarism, and in some instances from assumption at will." Maternal arms, especially when the mother happened to be an heiress, were frequently adopted, and in some instances substituted for the paternal coat. In Jersey the de Carterets, Lemprières, and Dumaresqs, in Guernsey the families of de Sausmarez, le Marchant, and Blondel, have displayed supporters on their seals from the earliest times.

The arms of seigneuries were in some instances used as arms of succession, and being supposed (as in France) to go with the land, were adopted by subsequent owners of the fiefs, instead of being, like arms of office, impaled with the paternal coat. A very interesting lawsuit on this subject occurred in Jersey in 1567, and must have caused quite as much excitement in its day as the famous case of "Scrope v. Grosvenor." We have seen in the preceding chapter that Guillaume Payn in 1367 bought the fief of Samarés from Philip de Barentin, and that through a

¹ P. 16.

The Channel Islands

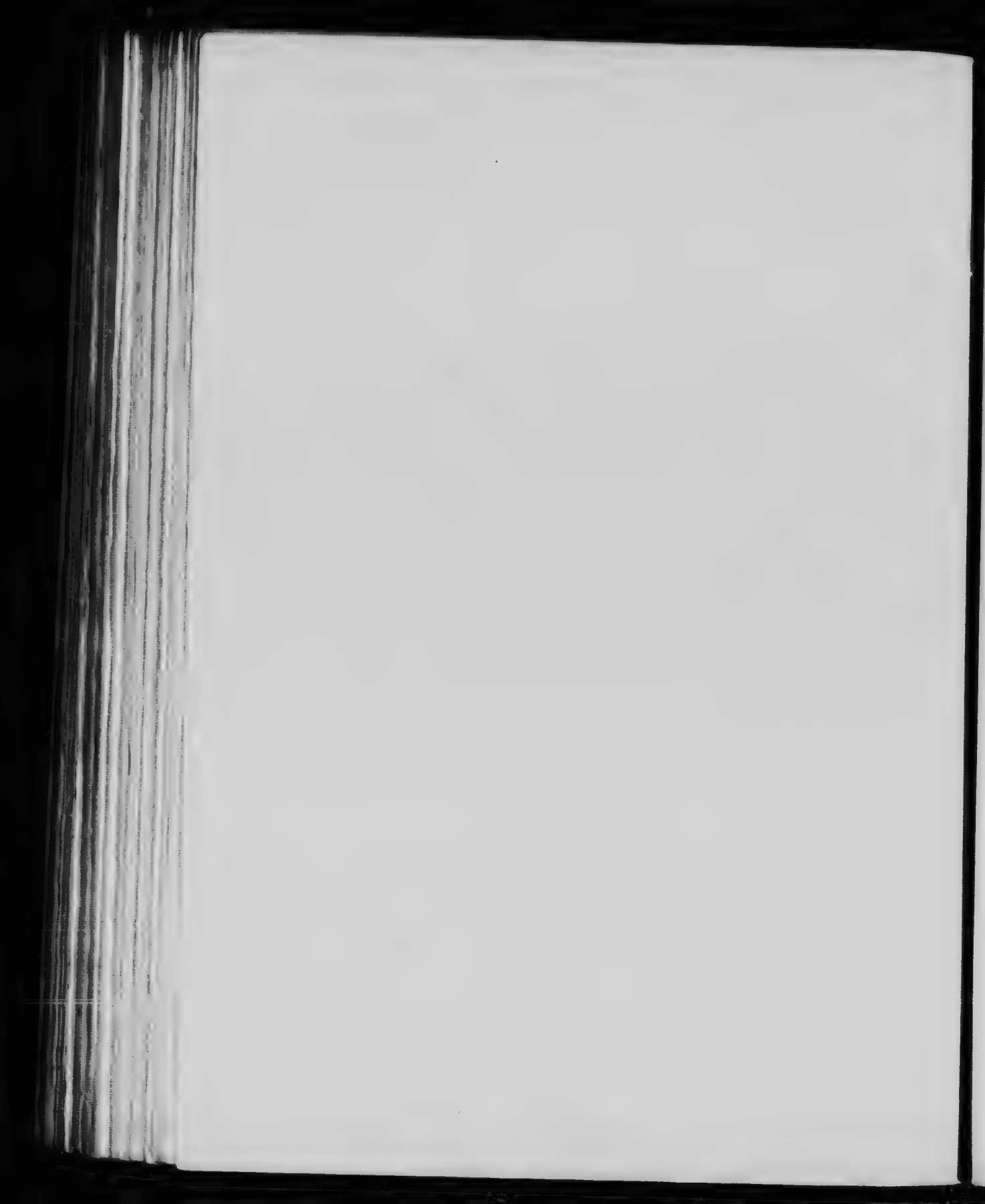
marriage with an heiress of the Payns the fief passed to the family of Dumaresq. Now the arms of Payn were three trefoils slipped 2 and 1. So when Pierre de la Rocque, Her Majesty's Procureur, came to bear three trefoils as his arms, Henry Dumaresq, the Seigneur of Samarés, challenged his right to them before the Royal Court. Pierre responded that the case should be laid before "le Roy des Heraults" and not before the Bailiff, who had nothing to do with the granting of arms; that Henry Dumaresq claimed these arms from Guillaume Payn, a Breton, whose purchase of the fief did not carry with it the purchase of the arms; and that they had never been granted to him by the Prince nor confirmed by the King at Arms.¹ The suit seems to have ended in a compromise, the Dumaresqs retaining their paternal coat of "gules three escallops or" and the de la Rocques bearing "gules a fesse, between three trefoils coupé or."

Like the seals of the bailiwicks, the decanal seals have undergone various changes. The original seal of the Deans of Jersey was round and bore the zodiacal sign of Pisces, with a connecting line from the mouth of each fish, and the legend *S. Decanatus Gersoi*. At a later period, though still before the Reformation, the Deans used on a seal a shield bearing three bends, probably the private insignia of the ecclesiastic who first used it officially. About 1620 a larger seal was employed, of an oval shape, combining the charges of the two former seals, the

¹ *Armorial*, p. 16; and 27^{me} Bulletin Soc. Jers. p. 86.

LA COTTE, ST. BRELADE, JERSEY





Law Courts and Official Seals

fish being separated by a column, with waves in base, and in chief a shield with the three bends. Since the period of Dean Philip le Couteur, who died in 1671, the bends have been impaled with the armorial ensigns of each Dean.

The original seal of the Deans of Guernsey was a fish haurient between two croziers, surmounted by a mitre. The office of Dean, and with it the seal, was abolished at the Reformation, and not till the days of Charles II. did the island have a Protestant Dean in the person of John de Sausmarez.

Charles sent over a new seal, vesica shaped, representing a church (? St. Peter-Port) with a crowned King seated in front of it. In 1852 the then Bishop of Winchester (Sumner) gave this seal away, and sent a new and totally incorrect one in its place. However, thanks to the late Sir Edgar MacCulloch, the old seal was restored to the Deanery, and is still used.

The fish used on these seals is a curious link between Christianity and the Chaldean and Phœnician worship of the fish god Oannes or Dagon.

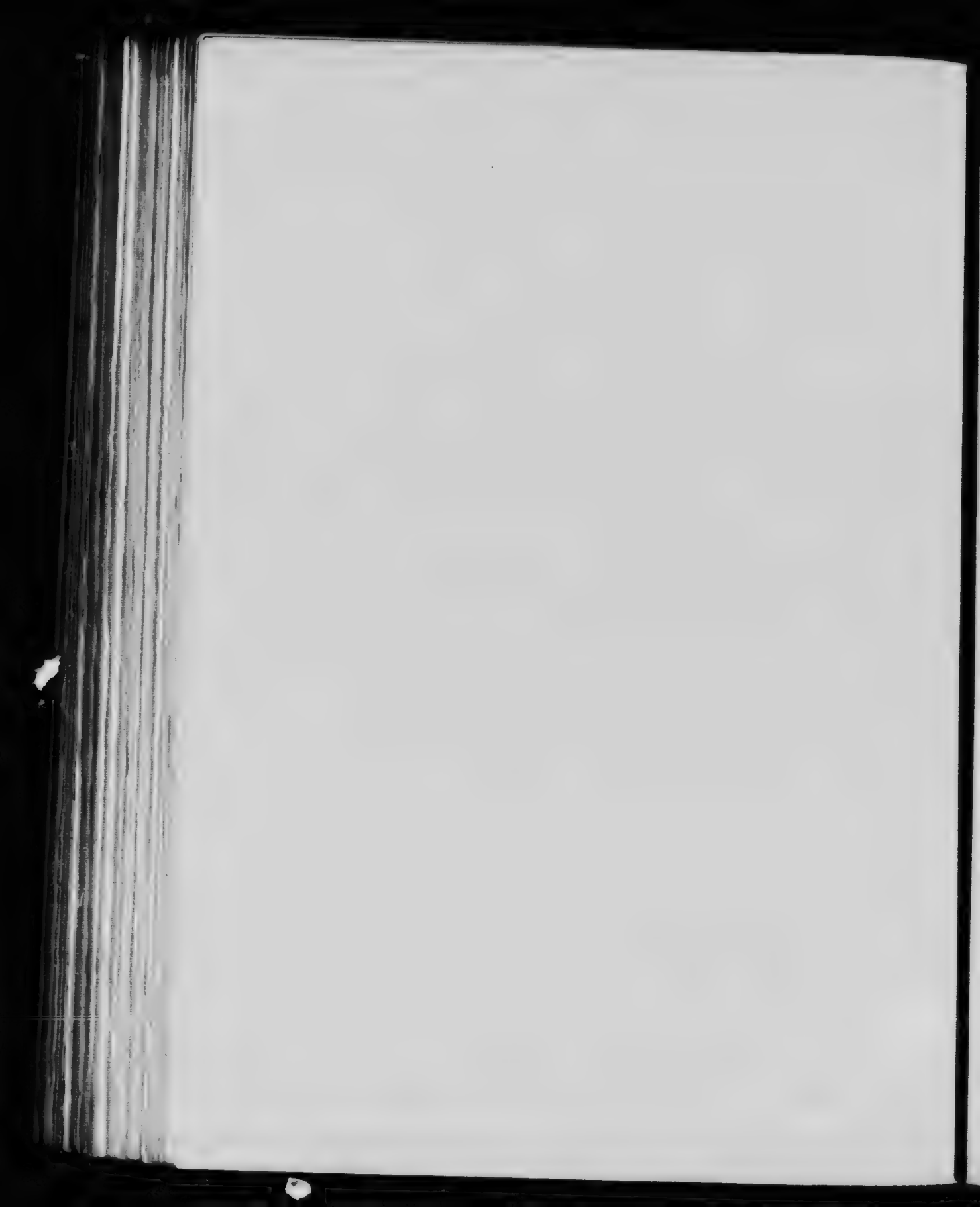
Thus the same types are accounted sacred from generation to generation, and the Chaldean, Phœnician, and Egyptian emblem of the life-giving element of water still survives as an ecclesiastical symbol¹ and shows,

"From dawn to dusk what ways man wandering trod,
Even through the twilight of the Gods to God."

¹ *The Jonah Legend*, by William Simpson.

PETIT PORTELET BAY, JERSEY





CHAPTER V

FROM THE PLANTAGENETS TO THE STUARTS

Our fathers water'd with their tears
This sea of Time whereon we sail,
Their voices were in all men's ears
Who pass'd within their puissant hail.
Still the same ocean round us raves,
But they stand 'mute, and watch the waves.

—MATTHEW ARNOLD.

CHAPTER V

FROM THE PLANTAGENETS TO THE STUARTS

AFTER the separation from Normandy, and during the remainder of the Plantagenet period, the Islands suffered from successive invasions by the French, attacks that were successfully repelled by the gallantry of the inhabitants, though not without much loss and bloodshed. According to a petition sent to the King by the Islanders about the year 1294, "the women and girls were taken by force from the churches, fifteen hundred men and women were killed, houses and corn were burnt, the churches were desecrated and spoiled, and the chasubles and vestments made into trappings for horses, and when the horses had served their purpose, they were immediately hamstrung."¹

Weary of the protracted resistance and determined that Jersey should fall, Du Guesclin, the famous Constable of France, in 1374 sailed from Brest with the Duke of Bourbon and ten thousand men to invade the island. On his approach the inhabitants deserted their homes and fled to Gouray Castle, then occupied by Sir Reginald de Carteret. There they held out

¹ Publication Spéciale of Société Jersiaise, 1902, p. 5.

The Channel Islands

against the enemy, who, after many fruitless assaults, was forced to retire, and thus du Guesclin, the hitherto invincible warrior, was baffled by a handful of Islanders. For this gallant achievement de Carteret and his seven sons are said to have been knighted in one day, and, tradition adds, Henry V., hearing of the gallant exploits which had been done in defence of the castle, changed its name to "Mont Orgueil," or "Mount of Pride."

In 1460 Margaret of Anjou, Queen of Henry VI., when the fortunes of her husband declined, cast about for new sources of revenue, and negotiating with Louis XI. of France, she sold him the Channel Islands on condition that he sent two thousand men to Scotland—under the command of Pierre de Brézé, Comte de Maulevrier—to create a diversion in favour of her husband. For this service the Islands were given to Maulevrier, and he immediately sent over a Norman kinsman, called Surdeval, to take possession of Jersey in his name.

At that date an Englishman named John Nanfan was Governor of Mont Orgueil. By the treachery of four brothers (Guy, Ralph, Guillaume, and Jean de St. Martin), Surdeval was introduced into the castle, and, finding Nanfan asleep in his bed, took him prisoner and made himself master of the castle. But though Surdeval thus held Mont Orgueil and also the six parishes on the eastern side of Jersey, he was never able to get possession of the other half, as the inhabitants of the six westerly parishes, under Sir Philip de Carteret, steadfastly resisted him, having securely

From the Plantagenets to the Stuarts

entrenched themselves in the now demolished Castle of Grosnez and in the manor-house of St. Ouen. Surdeval realised that his only chance of success was to take Sir Philip prisoner, and planned his measures accordingly. One day when the seigneur was quietly fishing in his pond of St. Ouen, he was surprised and nearly cut off by the French. Seeing them approach, he leapt on his horse in the hope of regaining his manor-house ; but as soon as he reached the top of the hill he saw another band on their way. Driving the spurs into his horse's flanks he put him at the Val de la Charrière, a cutting twenty-two feet wide by eighteen deep, and, clearing it, gained on the enemy, and so was saved. Just as he reached his gates, however, his gallant steed fell dead. Sir Philip, says the old chronicler, *fut moult dolent*, had his body buried in the garden, and hung his picture upon the walls of St. Ouen.¹

The French remained in possession of Mont Orgueil for several years, but some time after his accession Edward IV. equipped a fleet to recover it, under the command of Richard Harliston, who, with Sir Philip de Carteret, concerted measures for its reconquest. So well contrived were their plans that one morning the enemy looked out and found the castle invested both by sea and land.

The siege had lasted several months, and the garrison, sore oppressed by famine, saw that their only resource was to build a boat, creep round the walls of

¹ *Chroniques de Jersey*, pp. 11-12.

The Channel Islands

the castle by night, and thus escape to Normandy and claim succour ; but as they knew that they could not build a boat without the besiegers hearing the noise of the hammers, they decided on building two, one in full sight of the foe (who could mark its progress day by day), and the other behind the walls ; and it was arranged that the hammers used on the two boats should fall simultaneously, so that the besiegers should think that only one was being built. But a Jerseyman, one of the prisoners in the castle, having discovered the ruse of the second boat, tied a note to an arrow, which he shot into the besiegers' camp, telling them that the second boat was on the point of being launched ; so that when this happened the crew fell at once into an ambushade and were captured, to the despair of the garrison, who thereupon surrendered, and Harliston and de Carteret "*renvoya les dits François en leur pays et tout leur bagage.*"

In the sixteenth century Jersey, like all Europe, began to be troubled with religious dissensions. The Islands in January 1499 were transferred by a Papal Bull from the Diocese of Coutances to that of Winchester, but they seem to have remained under the nominal jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coutances until 1568. In the days of Queen Mary the persecution of Protestants began, and a number of Jersey gentlemen—Helier de Carteret, Nicholas de Soulemont, Thomas Lemprière, Nicholas and Guillaume Gosselin, and many others who had embraced Protestantism—were forced to fly either to Geneva or to Normandy in

MONT ORQUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY, FROM PETIT PORTELET BAY

BAY



From the Plantagenets to the Stuarts

order to worship in security. When Elizabeth came to the throne a reaction set in. A Jerseyman was sent to prison because his wife owned a rosary. The churches were stripped of their chalices, crosses, brasses, bells, and ornaments, which were sold for the benefit of the Crown. All the images and wayside "calvaries" were destroyed, together with the crosses which stood in every cemetery,¹ and many chapels were either demolished or allowed to fall entirely into ruin.

From the sixteenth to the eighteenth centuries the Islands afforded a harbour of safety for Huguenot refugees, many of whom settled there permanently. In Jersey, they founded such families as those of de la Place, Gosset, Hemery, Patriarche, and among their most notable representatives was Gabriel de Lorge, Comte de Montgomery.

The first ministers of the newly reformed Church being Frenchmen reared in the school of Calvin, the Islanders, in the enthusiasm of their new faith, modelled for themselves a code of Church discipline, on the lines of that of Geneva, and quite unconnected with that of the Church of England. Sir Hugh Paulet, the Governor of Jersey, was himself a pronounced Calvinist, and Episcopalianism was not brought into the island until 1620, when, after many intrigues, David Bandinel, an Italian refugee, was appointed Dean, and the Book of Common Prayer came officially into use. But during the period when the Parliamentarians were in power (1651-60), the Island reverted to Calvinism ;

¹ *Jersey, Ses Antiquités*, vol. iii. p. 349.

The Channel Islands

there was no Dean, and wills were presented to and proved before the Royal Court. In 1660 the Rev. Philip le Couteur was appointed Dean, and the Church of England finally re-established.

Sir Hugh Paulet made Hoste Nicolle¹ Bailiff of Jersey. Now Hoste, who was Seigneur of Longueville, and lived in its charming old manor-house, coveted (like Ahab) the lands of a poor neighbour; so he ordered his servants to kill two of his finest sheep, and place them in this man's house, accused the man of sheep-stealing, and sentenced him to immediate execution without a proper trial. Then and there was the unfortunate wretch led to the gibbet, which was on the hill west of St. Helier called Mont Patibulaire.² As the executioner was putting the cord round his neck, the man turned to Nicolle and said, "I summon you to appear within forty days before a righteous God to answer for the injustice you have done towards me." And so he died, after an agony which, though bitter, at least was brief; but for thirty-eight days did the Bailiff live under the "shadow of the sword," and on the thirty-ninth day it fell—and he was picked up dead in the road.

In 1586 the castle, begun in the reign of Edward VI., was finished and named after Queen Elizabeth. It is situated on the rocky islet in St. Aubin's Bay,

¹ Son of John Nicolle Seigneur of Longueville and of Catherine Gosselin his wife, sister to the Hellier Gosselin Bailiff of Guernsey mentioned in the preceding chapter.

² Now called West Mount.

From the Plantagenets to the Stuarts

formerly the site of the Abbey of St. Helier, and at high tide is completely cut off from the land.

Towards the latter part of Elizabeth's reign Sir Walter Raleigh was sent as Governor to Jersey, and there he wrote part of his *History of the World*. It is to his enterprise that the foundations of the island's trade with Newfoundland is ascribed, and he it was who introduced the tobacco plant into the Islands. It thrived amazingly—so much so that in 1624 the States of Jersey forbade the sale of *pétun*, or *bétun* as it was then called, on account of the general abuse of the weed.¹ Both Jerseymen and Guernseymen hoped to make great profits out of its cultivation, but these hopes were frustrated by a decree issued from England in 1628,² saying that "there is now a very great quantity of tobacco planted in the Islands of Jersey and Gernsey" which would "not only destroy the King's profits by customs and other duties, but would also utterly destroy the foreign plantations of Virginia," and ordering the local produce to be destroyed—an order which did not increase the popularity of Charles I. among the Islanders.

At this time Jersey was virtually ruled by Sir Philip de Carteret, Seigneur of St. Ouen, who combined the offices of Receiver of the Crown Revenues, Bailiff, and Lieutenant-Governor (the Governor, Sir Thomas Jermyn, having practically abdicated in his

¹ *Les Etats*, by de la Croix, p. 87.

² British Museum, *Domestic Calendar of State Papers* (Clarence Hopper MSS.), vol. i. p. 527.

The Channel Islands

favour), and thus monopolised the financial, civil, and military authority of the island. As Lieutenant-Governor his official residence was at Mont Orgueil, and while there he had the custody of William Prynne, the barrister whose *Histrio-Mastyx* had given so much offence at the Court of Charles I., and who, after having been branded and losing his ears, had been banished to Jersey by Charles I. and the Star Chamber in 1637. Sir Philip treated his captive with great kindness and consideration, and allowed him every indulgence in his power, while the ladies of his household did their best to ameliorate the four years' imprisonment of their captive.

Sir Philip had to pay the usual penalty of success by exciting the hostility and jealousy of a number of his fellow citizens, notably of Dean Bandinel and Michael Lemprière, who, because Sir Philip had espoused the cause of the Stuarts, immediately took the side of the Parliament. These enemies took advantage of the political circumstances of the period to forward a series of accusations against Sir Philip to the English Parliament. These machinations were, however, defeated by Prynne, who boldly and openly championed his quondam gaoler. This conduct was violently assailed by the Jersey malcontents in a pamphlet called *Pseudo-Mastyx*. Thus the island was divided into two factions, the Royalists under de Carteret being known as the "Bien affectionnés" and the Republicans under Bandinel and Lemprière as the "Réfractaires." The feeling between the parties

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GROSSE TÊTE, MONT PIQUET, JERSEY





From the Plantagenets to the Stuarts

became so bitter that in 1643 Sir Philip found himself besieged in Elizabeth Castle, whilst his wife (Anne, daughter of Sir Francis Dowse) and Philip, his eldest son, were in the same condition at Mont Orgueil. After many privations, and while still in a state of siege, he fell ill in the autumn of the same year, neither his wife nor his mother being allowed access to him until he was at the point of death. His widow and son continued to hold Mont Orgueil against the foe, until Captain George Carteret¹ came to the island to take up the post of Lieutenant-Governor, and caused the siege to be raised and the Parliamentary party to flee. This George Carteret was both nephew and son-in-law of Sir Philip, having married Elizabeth, his youngest daughter. Being in the Royal navy, he proceeded to fit out privateers, duly authorised by letters of marque, which by capturing richly laden vessels of the Parliamentarians did much harm to the enemy and supplied money to advance the Royal cause. To legalise these proceedings, Charles I. on December 13th, 1644, made Captain Carteret Vice-Admiral of the Fleet, and thus his *pataches* acquired the dignity of men-of-war.

The new Admiral did not forget the injuries inflicted by the opposite party on his predecessor, and in 1644 the Bandinels, father and son, were arrested and imprisoned in Mont Orgueil. After fourteen months' imprisonment they concocted a plan of escape: they knotted their bedclothes into a rope,

¹ He thus wrote his name, dropping the particle.

The Channel Islands

and on a dark, tempestuous night crept through a narrow window overlooking the steep rocks which encircle the castle. But they had miscalculated the distance, and both fell bruised and maimed on the rocks, and died from the injuries thus received.

In 1629 Jersey and Guernsey were visited by the Rev. Peter Heylyn, who came over in the suite of Lord Danby, and his description of them, entitled *A Survey of the Estate of Guernzey and Jarsey*, printed in 1656, is one of the earliest authentic accounts of the Islands we possess. He describes the country folk of Jersey as "a people very painfull and laborious; but by reason of their continuall toyle and labour, not a little affected by a kinde of melancholy surlinesse incident to ploughmen." He also notices the great poverty of the majority of the inhabitants. He describes Jersey as "generally swelling up in pretty hillocks, under which lie pleasant Vallies, and those plentifully watered with dainty Rils or Riverets; in which watery commodity it hath questionlesse the precedency of Guernzey. Both Islands consist very much of small Inclosures, every man in each of them having somewhat to live on of his own, only the difference is, that here the Mounds are made with ditches and banks of earth cast up, well fenced and planted with several sorts of apples, out of which they make a pleasing kinde of Sider, which is their ordinary drink; whereas in Guernzey they are for the most part made of stones, about the height and fashion of a Parapet."

CHAPTER VI
CHARLES II. IN JERSEY

Oh! little did my mither think
That day she cradled me,
What lands I was to travel in
Or the death I was to dee!

—*Old Ballad.*

CHAPTER VI

CHARLES II. IN JERSEY

TO this island of "pretty hillocks and pleasant Vallies" Charles I. for safety's sake determined to send the Prince of Wales; and on April 17th, 1646, Prince Charles, on board the *Proud Black Eagle* commanded by Captain Baldwin Wake, and attended by a large suite—including Sir Edward Hyde (afterwards Lord Clarendon), Mr. Lane, Sir Richard Fanshawe, and many others—cast anchor before Elizabeth Castle. Great were the rejoicings in the island at this signal manifestation of Royal confidence.

Soon after the Prince's arrival Sir George Carteret, who had recently been created a baronet, ordered the Militia to assemble on a spot above St. Aubin's Bay for a great review. One regiment was commanded by Amias de Carteret, Seigneur of Trinity, another by Colonel John Dumaresq, and the third, which comprised the men of St. Ouen's parish, awaited its hereditary chieftain Philip de Carteret, who also, by feudal right, took command of the whole brigade.

The review is thus described by Chevalier:¹

¹ John Chevalier was a *vingtenier* of St. Helier during the Civil

The Channel Islands

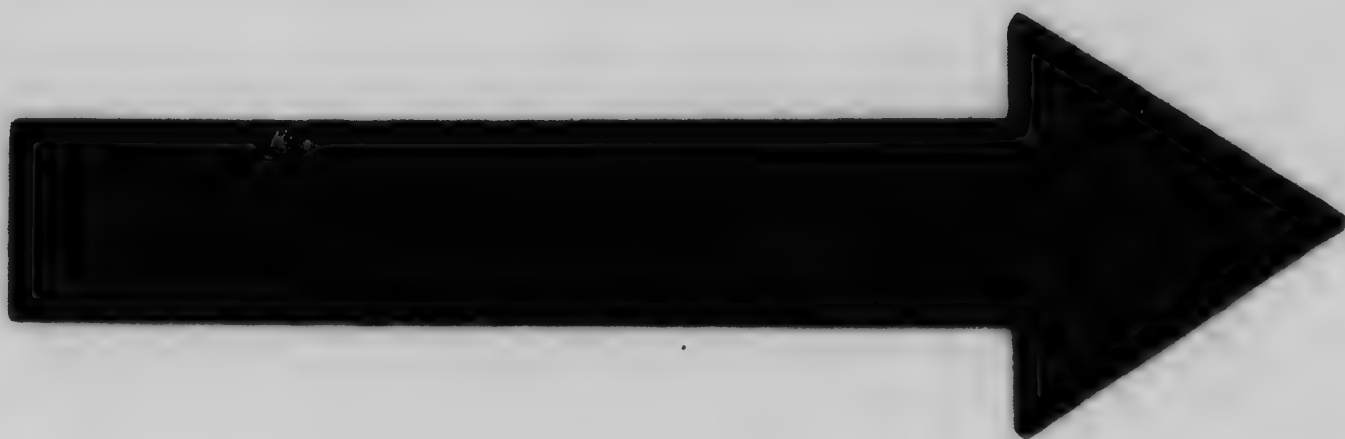
"About two o'clock His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales, attended by a numerous cavalcade, arrived and proceeded to review the troops drawn up in battle array. The young Seigneur of St. Ouen, in the meantime, took his station on the right wing of the line, and when His Royal Highness rode up to the head of the brigade, he approached, dropped on one knee, and presented the hilt of his drawn sword, whereupon the Prince took the proffered sword, and touched him lightly on the shoulder with the naked blade, exclaiming 'Arise, Sir Philip de Carteret!' And thus it was that the young seigneur came to be knighted right triumphantly at the head of his troops amid the shouts of the soldiery and of innumerable spectators."

Prince Charles's great amusement while in Jersey was sailing about in his own barge or yacht,¹ in which doubtless he enjoyed more freedom than on land, where he was treated like a schoolboy and surrounded by elderly counsellors.

Money being very scarce—Sir George and the Islanders having financed the Prince hitherto—it was proposed to establish a mint in the island, under the direction of a Colonel Smith, but Sir George, on finding that Smith was an adventurer and intended

Wars. He wrote a remarkably full and accurate journal of the daily history of Jersey from 1643 to 1650, of which the MS. is still preserved. On this journal is based Dr. Hoskins's work, *Charles II. in the Channel Islands*, from which some of the details in this chapter are taken, while many others are from unpublished MSS.

¹ *Charles II in the Channel Islands*, vol. i. p. 413.



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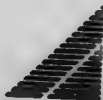
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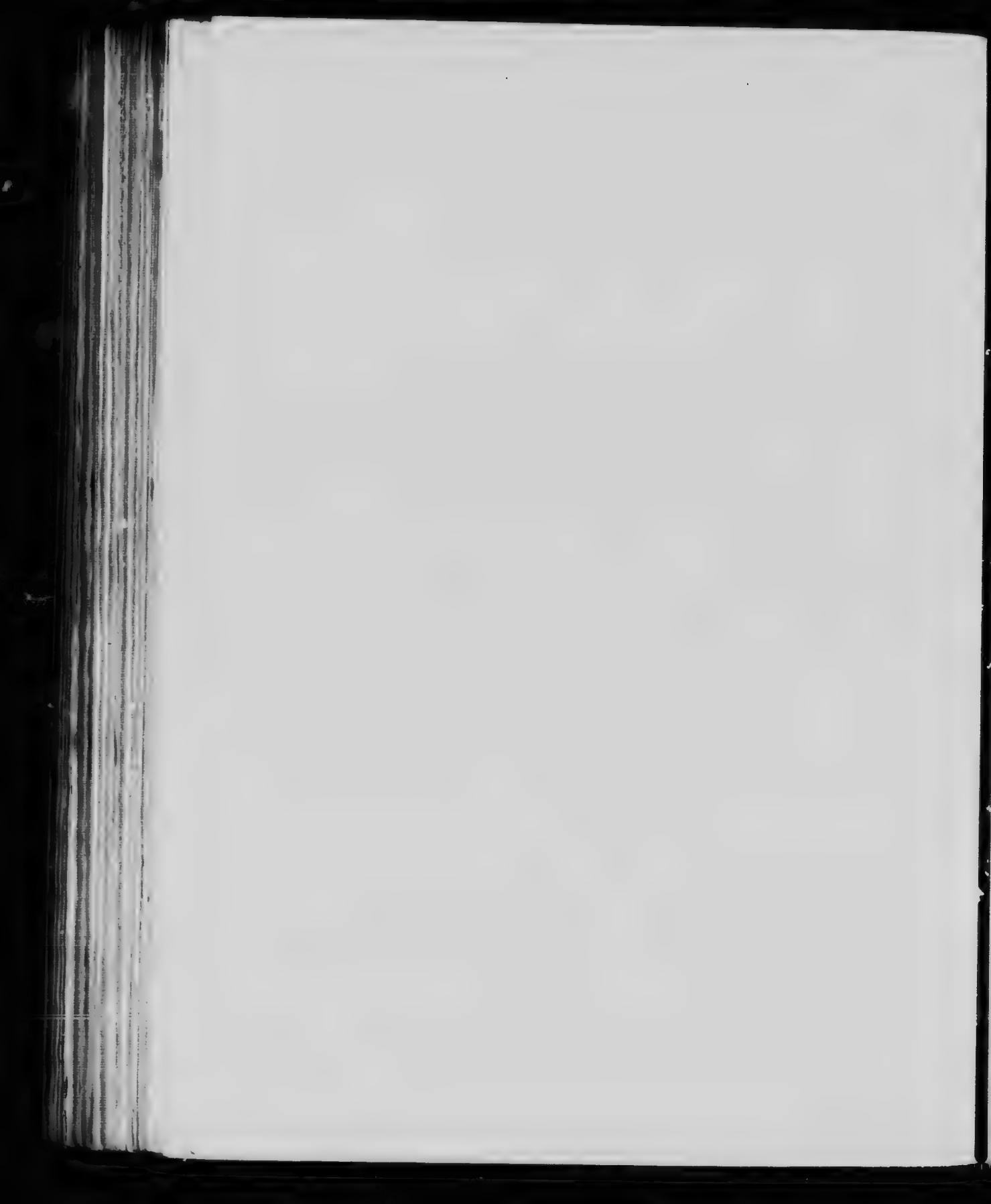


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ELIZABETH CASTLE, JERSEY





Charles II. in Jersey

to utter false and debased coin, nipped the project in the bud.¹

On June 27th, 1646, by the direction of his parents Charles left Jersey to join his mother at Fontainebleau. He had charmed the Islanders by his *bonhomie* and simplicity, as well as by the grace and elegance of his bearing. "C'étoit un Prince grandement bénin," wrote Chevalier; and already he exercised that fatal fascination which in spite of all their innate falsity seems to have been the special attribute of most of the Stuarts.

While he was in France, Charles, at the instigation of the Governor, Sir Thomas Jermyn, started negotiations with regard to the sale of the Channel Islands. But two obstacles stood in the way. Guernsey was as staunchly Parliamentary as Jersey was Royalist, and would have required to be captured by a special force, which it was impossible to raise at that juncture; and Sir George Carteret, Lord Capel, Sir Edward Hyde and Sir Ralph Hopton, hearing of these proposals, signed a deed on October 19th, 1646, by which they bound themselves to deliver up the island to the Parliamentarians should France accept Charles's offers; the matter therefore was of necessity dropped.

Lord Clarendon did not accompany his master to France, but remained in Jersey at Elizabeth Castle, and there compiled the greater part of his *History of the Rebellion*.

¹ *Ibid.* vol. ii. pp. 139-42.

The Channel Islands

At the time of the execution of Charles I. Jersey was almost the only stronghold in the kingdom that still continued loyal to the Stuarts, and there on February 17th, 1649, Charles II. was proclaimed King with much rejoicing.

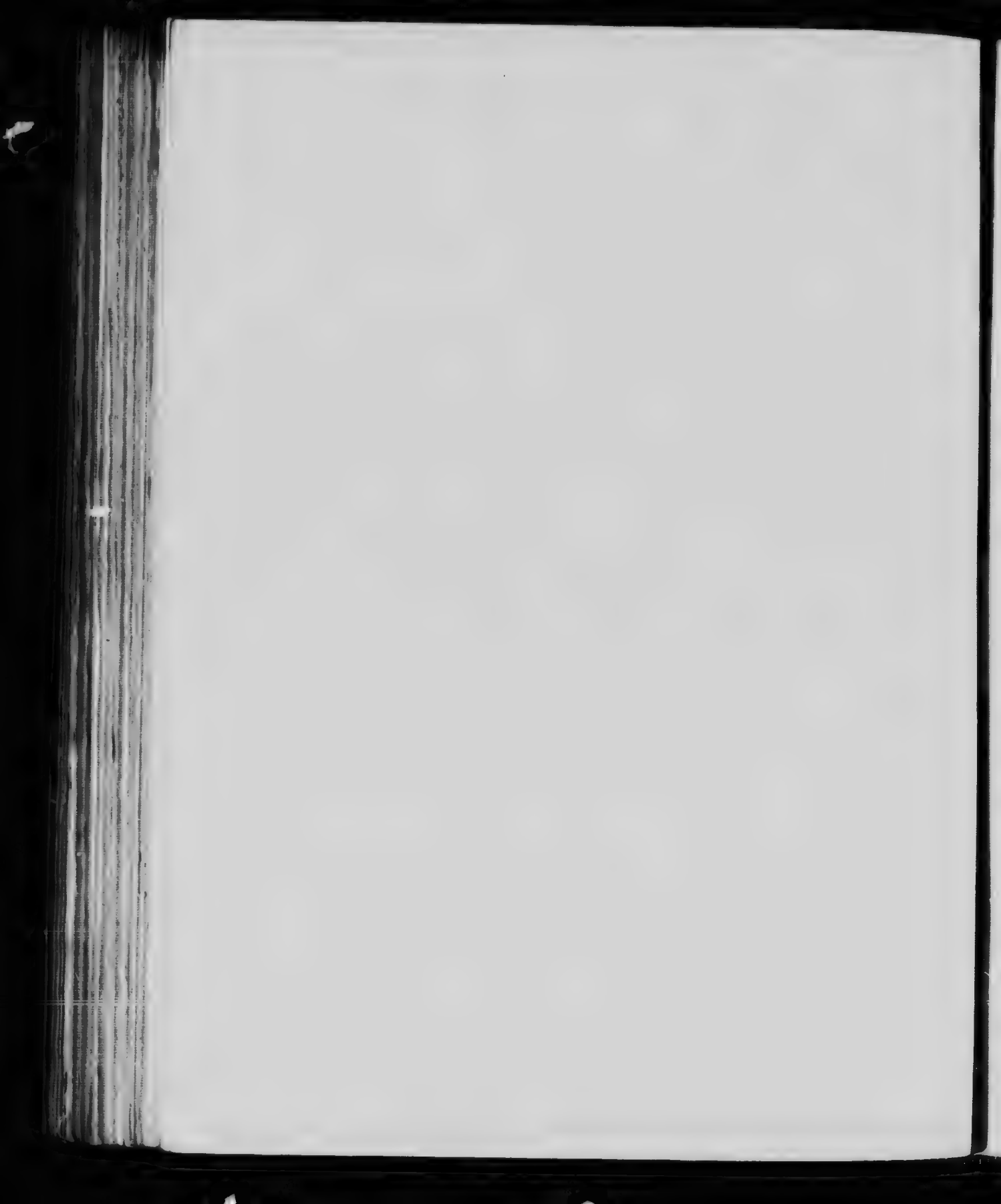
In September 1649 Charles, with the Duke of York and three hundred followers, returned to Jersey, and took up his abode in his old quarters at Elizabeth Castle. This visit seems to have been spent in nothing but a round of semi-state entertainments and local festivities. The Sunday following his arrival Charles attended service at the old parish church of St. Helier in great state, clad entirely in purple, and with a purple scarf across his breast, while the church was decorated with green boughs and flowers and the aisles strewn with rushes.

During this second visit to the island Charles's popularity was greater than ever. He frequently visited the local gentry at their houses, and joined in their shooting parties; the game in those days consisting of hares, rabbits, and red-legged partridges—a species which, though now extinct in the Islands, was at that time plentiful there. One of his first acts was to stand sponsor to Sir George Carteret's infant daughter, whom he named Caroline, after himself. He also touched eleven persons for "King's Evil" and hung, as Chevalier tells us, "un angelot avec un ruban blanc" around their necks.

Shortly before his departure, which took place in February 1650, Charles held a Court at Elizabeth

POINT LE GROIN, ST. BRELADE, JERSEY





Charles II. in Jersey

Castle. On this occasion the local authorities and principal gentry kissed His Majesty's hand, and the holders of "francs fiefs nobles" did homage. According to Pirouet, the other old Jersey diarist, Charles "y convia toutes les nobles demoiselles de Jersey, avec plusieurs gentilshommes, et le Roy y fit le choix d'une femme pour le Seigneur de S. Ouen nommée Ann Dumaresq de la Maison des Augrès." These ceremonies flattered the self-esteem of the Islanders, who apparently did not realise that they were paying for them out of their own pockets, as the greater part of Charles's revenues during this second visit were again drawn from the coffers of Sir George Carteret and the Jersey people.

Almost immediately after the Battle of Worcester Colonel Haynes and a large body of troops embarked on board a fleet of eighty ships commanded by the redoubtable Blake, and on October 20th, 1651, they attacked Jersey. On October 27th St. Aubin's Fort and Mont Orgueil Castle surrendered, and seven weeks later Elizabeth Castle, under the command of Sir George Carteret—blockaded by sea and besieged by land—was forced to follow their example, though upon the most favourable terms, the garrison marching out with their horses and arms, colours flying, drums beating, and all the honours of war; and for the next nine years the island groaned under the iron rule of the Parliamentarians.

Sir George went to France and joined the King, and did not return to England until he rode with

The Channel Islands

Charles on his triumphal entry into London, May 29th, 1660.

In order to testify his gratitude for the signal services he had received at the hands of the Jersey people, Charles caused a silver-gilt mace to be made and presented to the civil authorities of the island, and this is still kept in the Royal Court and carried before the Bailiff and magistrates on state occasions.

In the early part of 1659 the King had given to Sir George Carteret¹ "a certain island and adjacent islets near Virginia in America, in perpetual inheritance." To those islands the name of New Jersey was given, and the King's Patent granted permission "to build towns, churches and castles, and to establish suitable laws, and also power to transport thither three hundred persons for the purpose of cultivating the land." In 1665 Philip de Carteret, Seigneur of La Hougue—a distant cousin of Sir George—received a commission as Governor of this Province, and he landed at Elizabeth Port, which he so named after Elizabeth, wife of Sir George, and daughter of Sir Philip de Carteret. And it was during his stay in America that Philip de Carteret had so many disputes with his autocratic cousin, Sir Edmund Andros, Governor of New York.²

After the Restoration Charles heaped honours and

¹ At Sir George's death in 1679 his American possessions were offered for sale, and in February 1682 they were bought for £3,400 by William Penn and his eleven Quaker associates.

² Son of Thomas Andros, Seigneur of Sausmarez in Guernsey, and Elizabeth, daughter of Amias de Carteret, Bailiff of Guernsey.

Charles II. in Jersey

titles upon the de Carterets. Gratitude is not commonly supposed to have been a strong point with the Stuarts; but it is possible that a feeling of remorse may have deepened the King's interest in this particular family. For though no scandal respecting the young Prince's conduct in the island has ever appeared in local manuscripts—Chevalier too discreet, too much imbued with the axiom *les Rois ne peuvent se tromper*, to tell tales, even suppose he had any tales to tell—and though no English historian seems to have sought in Jersey for any traditions concerning the parentage of James de la Cloche, Charles's eldest natural son, yet there can be no doubt that the son in question was born in Jersey after the Prince's sojourn in the island in 1646, and was called by the name of an old Jersey family, and local tradition¹ tells us that during his visit Charles was much attached to a beautiful Miss de Carteret, daughter of the Seigneur of Trinity.

Her picturesque old home now stands empty and desolate, the paths are overhung with rank unpruned bushes, mosses and lichens encrust the old stone cross under which the heart of a de Carteret lies buried,² and the vampire ivy embraces the grey granite walls, spectators of so many revels in bygone days. Payne

¹ As told to Dr. Hoskins when he came to the island to investigate the story of James de la Cloche, some years after he had published his book.

² Amais de Carteret, Seigneur of Trinity, died at St. Lô in 1664, leaving directions that his heart was to be embalmed and buried in the garden of Trinity Manor.

The Channel Islands

tells us¹ that in the oak-panelled room—now bearing the reputation of being haunted—once hung a large portrait of Charles by Lely, a gift from the King. At the back of the house lies the fishpond, and in close vicinity stands a huge oak, which may have been a sapling when Charles visited the manor. Beneath its branches is a square stone table connected by tradition with many a feast given in honour of the "Merry Monarch."

Reference to the family pedigree shows that in 1646 the youngest and only unmarried daughter of the Seigneur of Trinity was Marguerite de Carteret, a young woman then just twenty years of age. It is easy to understand what a glamour a fascinating and unfortunate young Prince, heir to the throne of England, would have had for an unsophisticated girl, who had probably never stirred beyond her native island or met any man outside a circle of insular gentry—mostly cousins—among whom she had been born and brought up. But, indeed, whatever may have been the mutual attraction, like Montaigne's heroine she would probably have said: "Si on me presse de dire pourquoi je l'aymois, je sens que cela ne se peult exprimer qu'en respondant: 'Parce que c'estoit luy, parce que c'estoit moy.'"

In the registers of the parish church of Trinity a leaf has been tampered with, leading one to suppose that the baptismal entries between Nos. 2 and 5 of the latter part of the year 1648 have been destroyed.

¹ *Armorial*, p. 110.

TRINITY MANOR, JERSEY



Charles II. in Jersey

As, however, corresponding entries, numbered 3 and 4, have been inserted in the opposite page, it is possible that the originals may have been cut out on account of some clerical or other trivial error, and therefore perhaps no inference as to a secret and hurriedly suppressed baptism can fairly be drawn from the mere fact of mutilation. But it is certainly remarkable that in 1651 Marguerite's brother Joshua, though a member of so conspicuously loyal a family as the de Carterets, had taken up arms against the King, and was inciting his fellow-citizens to mutiny and sedition. And this seems to suggest some private grudge on his part against the Stuarts. What may have been the cause of that grudge we now can only conjecture.

In 1656 Marguerite, then in her thirty-first year, married Jean la Cloche,¹ son of the Rev. Etienne la Cloche, Rector of St. Ouen, her husband afterwards calling himself "*de la Cloche*," whereas his ancestors were invariably styled "*la Cloche*" simply.²

¹ "1656, 23 Avril.—Jean la Cloche et Dlle. Marguerite de Carteret furent mariés ensemble par M. Josué de la Place, Ministre de la Trinité à l'Eglise de la Trinité. Ils furent fiancés par le même le 12 Decembre, 1655" (Parish Registers of Trinity). Marguerite and her husband lived at the Maison de la Rocque, where their six children were born. She survived her husband and lived until she was eighty-seven, as appears by the Parish Registers of St. Helier: "Dlle. (*sic*) Marguerite de Carteret, veüe de Jean la Cloche gent. fut enterrée le 28 d'Avril, 1713, dans l'Eglise de St. Helier, contre le banc prochain de la chaire vis-à-vis de la petite porte et le costé, tout joignant la muraille."

² The Royal Court in 1711 decided, with reference to the partition of Jean la Cloche's estate, that the name of the family was "*la Cloche*"

The Channel Islands

These coincidences of name and circumstance seem to point to the conclusion that Marguerite was the Miss de Carteret who was Charles's first love, and that her later designation was the cognomen chosen for her son. This parentage rests of course on circumstantial evidence and tradition alone, but at any rate it is more probable than the mythical "Lady Mary Stewart" believed in by some historians, who is to be found on no Stewart pedigree¹ and, as we shall see, is put forward only by James Stuart of Naples, never by James de la Cloche of Jersey. The facts that have come down to us concerning the latter are as follows.

On April 11th, 1668, a young man presented himself at the Jesuit College of St. Andrew in Rome, asking to be admitted as a novice. He was poorly clad, and though only speaking French, claimed to be an English subject—James de la Cloche of Jersey. But Oliva, the General of the Jesuits, soon discovered the secret history of the new novice. He was the eldest natural son of Charles II., and, in King Charles's own words, a son "for whom We have always entertained a singular affection, partly because he was born

and not "*de la Cloche*," and thus his heirs were only legally entitled to the former name.

¹ The information on this and the following pages respecting James de la Cloche is derived from Mr. Lang's book, *The Valet's Tragedy*; the review on the same in the *Revue des Deux Mondes* for November 15th, 1903; the manuscript translation of Father Boero's articles in *La Civiltà Cattolica* (Rome, 1863) in the possession of the Société Jersiaise; and *The Gentleman's Magazine* for 1866.

Charles II. in Jersey

to Us when We were not more than sixteen or seventeen years of age, of a young lady of a family amongst the most distinguished in Our Kingdom,¹ . . . and partly because of the excellent understanding which we have always found in him, and of the eminent learning to which, by Our means, he has attained."²

De la Cloche brought with him three authentic documents which left no doubt as to the truth of his story. The first was an autograph certificate from Charles, dated from Whitehall, September 27th, 1665, saying: "Our natural son, James Stuart, who, in obedience to Our order and command, has lived in France and other countries under a feigned name, up to the year 1665, when We have deigned to take him under Our charge, and in the year following he, being in London, We have commanded him to live under *another feigned name*—namely, that of de la Cloche du Bourg de Jersey."³

This letter was granted to James at his own request, and "written in his native tongue (French)." James had then spent a year in England and had taken a great dislike to that country and to Court life. At his own wish he had afterwards gone to pursue his

¹ That Charles had a high opinion of the position of the de Carteret family is evinced by a letter from him dated May 2nd, 1682, respecting a dispute concerning the precedence in the Royal Court of the Jersey jurats: "Whereas of Our certain knowledge there is not in all the said island any one family that may with the least colour of reason dispute precedence with the de Carterets" (*Actes des Etats*).

² Letter from Charles II. to Oliva, August 3rd, 1668.

³ *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. i. p. 531.

The Channel Islands

studies in Holland, and, while he was there Charles had written him his second testimonial, dated February 7th, 1667, assigning him "£500 yearly, which it shall not be lawful to him to enjoy or possess unless he reside in London and follow the religion of his family, and observe the Liturgy of England."

But in that very year (July 29th, 1667), renouncing paternal favour and worldly goods, de la Cloche started for Hamburg instead of London, was there converted to Catholicism, and abjured his former Protestant faith. While he was at Hamburg he made friends with Queen Christina of Sweden, and the third document which he took to Rome was an autograph letter from that Queen in Latin, attesting that Charles II. privately acknowledged the bearer as his son. Christina probably had written this letter in order that the youth might have a document he could produce without a scruple, as Charles had commanded him not to publish their relationship or show his letters during the writer's lifetime. In the letter already quoted of August 3rd, 1668, the King wrote to Oliva¹ his joy at the conversion "du jeune Cavalier la Cloche de Jersey," and asked Oliva to hurry on his ordination and send him to London in as private a manner as possible. In a later part of the same letter Charles went on to say: "Great and various reasons connected with the peace of Our Kingdom have, hitherto, withheld Us from publicly recognising

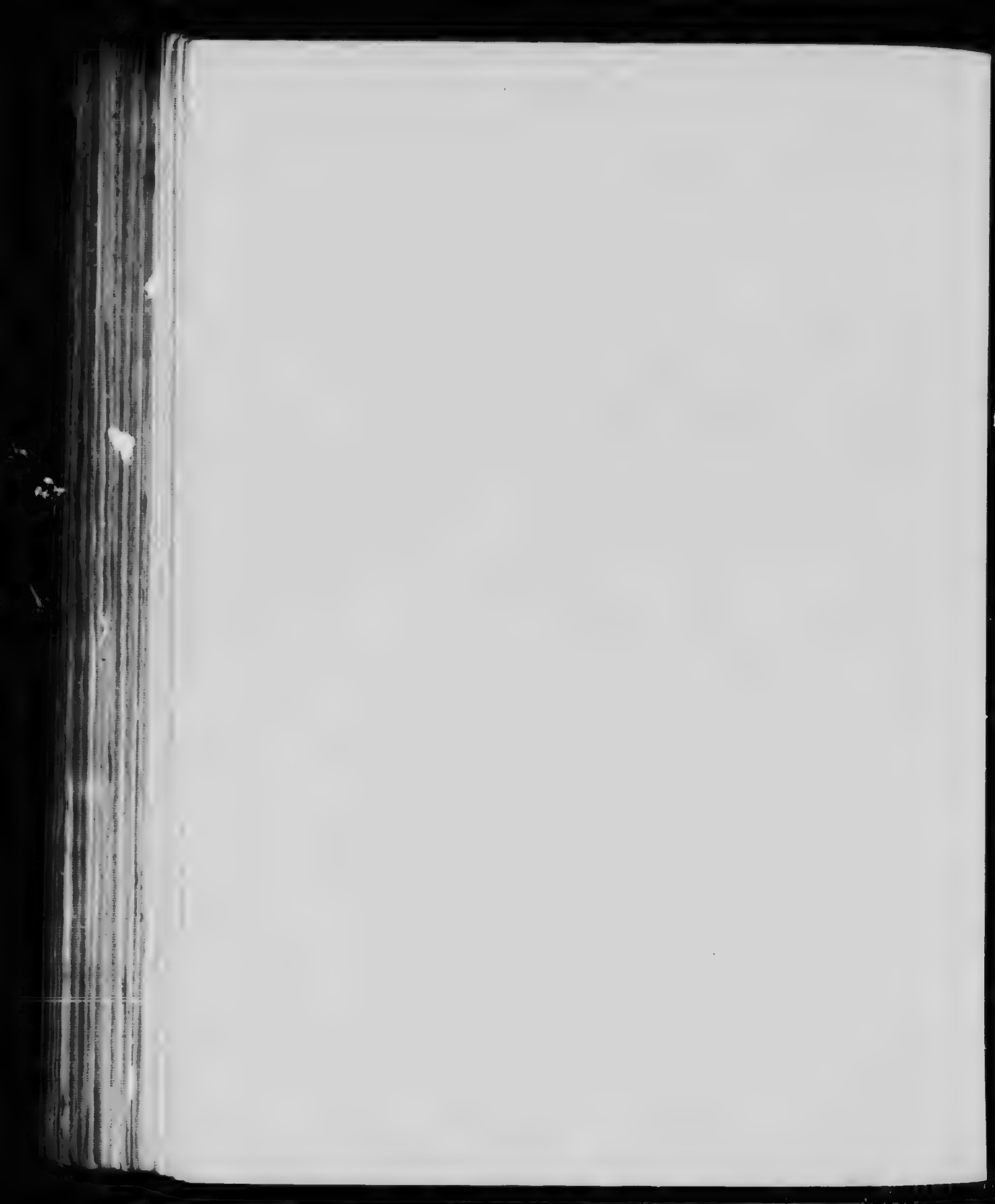
¹ Letter from Charles II. to Oliva, August 3rd, 1668; *Vale's Tragedy*, p. 234; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, vol. i. pp. 531-2.

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GROSNEZ POINT, JERSEY (SARK IN DISTANCE)





Charles II. in Jersey

him as Our son, but this will be but of short duration, as We are now resolved to recognise him in a few years. . . . And, as he is in no way known here except by the two Queens, this business has been treated under the greatest secrecy ; We are therefore enabled to converse in all security with him and practise the rites of the Roman Catholic religion without exciting in Our Court the shadow of a doubt that We belong to that persuasion." By the same courier the King sent a letter, dated August 4th, to his son full of paternal solicitude and unlimited promises, addressing him as "The Prince Stuart," and going so far as to say: "You might lay claims to honours and titles as great, if not greater, than those of the Duke of Monmouth. . . . Should liberty of conscience and the Catholic religion be restored to this Kingdom, you might even entertain hopes of arriving to the Crown ; because We may assure you that, should We, . . . and the Duke of York, die without heirs, the Kingdom will be yours."¹

A little later (August 29th) Charles seemed to get uneasy lest he should have gone too far. He wrote to Oliva² that his son must not again meet Queen Christina, and perhaps let out more secrets, for "at the present time it is a truth fully agreed upon by persons of the soundest judgment that of all the evils that could surround Us, the certainty that We were

¹ *Vale's Tragedy*, p. 236; *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, vol. ii. p. 65.

² *Ibid.* p. 237; and *Gentleman's Magazine*, vol. ii. p. 67.

The Channel Islands

a Catholic would be the greatest and most likely to cause Our death." James was ordered, with every possible precaution for ensuring secrecy, to come at once to England, alone (which was contrary to Jesuit rules) and in lay costume, and to avoid all society of his fellows "both by letter and conversation, for it is not reasonable that so insignificant a gratification should run into risk and perhaps ruin of Our designs."¹ He was to take the name of "Henri de Rohan," and to give out that he was the son of "a rich preacher deceased."² He was to land, not in London, but at some other port and thence drive to the capital and at once seek the Queen Consort. Such was the importance attached by Charles to his person and to the secrets in his possession.

On November 18th, 1668, Charles wrote to Oliva that his "very dear son," after a brief sojourn in London, was returning to Rome accompanied by another Jesuit, on a confidential mission from his father to the Pope, charged with certain commissions which were only to be explained orally, and with a stipulation that as soon as he had fulfilled them he was to return to London with a verbal response. In this letter the King also promised to send Oliva, at his son's request, a large subscription to the building fund of the Jesuits; but meanwhile he asked him to advance James eight hundred pistoles for expenses.

¹ MSS. Société Jersiaise.

² Marguerite de Carteret's mother was Jeanne Herault, heiress of the Rev. Edward Herault, who might have been the prototype of the "rich preacher."

Charles II. in Jersey

After this letter "James de la Cloche" disappears entirely from history.

Mr. Lang identifies him with the "James Stuart" or "Giacopo Stuardo" who appeared at Naples early in 1669—a man of dissipated and extravagant habits and married to an innkeeper's daughter. On arrest he claimed to be a son of King Charles of England, born at Jersey, his mother being "Lady Mary Stewart." He owned money and jewels, spoke only French, and was a Roman Catholic. But the Italian authorities, being convinced that this story was a fabrication, released him from gaol. He died that same year, certified as being in his right mind, though perhaps nowadays he would be called a megalomaniac.¹ He left a most extraordinary will, repeating his former statements as to his parentage, and bequeathing to his wife vast sums of money and lands (which he did not possess) and to his unborn son the Principality of Wales.

His career and its termination were notified to King Charles, who nevertheless sent his promised large donation to Oliva; which seems an improbable thing for him to have done, had "James Stuart"—who could not be considered a satisfactory result of Jesuit training—been the same person as de la Cloche. Indeed, nothing in the character and life of the Neapolitan identifies him with the James de la Cloche of Jersey—a man noted for his learning and piety, a friend of Queen Christina of Sweden, and in the

¹ *Valer's Tragedy*, Preface, p. x.

The Channel Islands

confidence of the Jesuits. Roman Catholic writers think "Giacopo Stuardo" was possibly a fellow-student of de la Cloche, who had stolen some of his papers and jewels as well as his identity, and they thus account for his ignorance of many things which the real James must have known—for example, that the Principality of Wales was not an appanage of natural sons of the Crown; and they identify de la Cloche with the "foreign ecclesiastic" who was sent for by the Duke of York but "could not be found" in the last illness of the King.¹ But may not this "James Stuart" have been merely a red herring drawn across the scent, and have been despatched to Naples, with the connivance of King Charles and the Jesuits, to divert attention from the career and fate of the real James de la Cloche? And may not James be the unfortunate victim known to history as "The Man with the Iron Mask"?²

What are the main facts connected with that mysterious individual? In 1668-9 two political plots were being hatched in London. The first, in which Roux de Marsilly and possibly Martin³ his valet were involved, concerned a Protestant league against France. This was started by Holland, Switzerland, and the Protestant countries of Europe; and Marsilly and Arlington hoped also to include England in it.

¹ *Gentleman's Magazine*, 1866, vol. i. p. 28.

² Mr. Lang's note on p. 28 of *A Valet's Tragedy* suggested this theory, but I have reason to believe he now considers it probable that de la Cloche died at Naples.

³ Whom Mr. Lang identifies as the Man with the Mask.

GRÈVE AU LANÇON, PLEMONT, JERSEY



Charles II. in Jersey

The second, which concerned the secret treaty of alliance between England and France against Holland and the restoration of Roman Catholicism in England, was known only to Louis XIV., Charles, his sister Henrietta of Orleans, and one other.

In the light of Charles's letters to Oliva, who can doubt that James de la Cloche was the "one person more"¹ mentioned by Charles—in a letter to Henrietta of Orleans—who knew of this treaty? Mr. Lang quotes a letter dated April 25th, 1669,² in which Charles writes to his sister that Arlington has an inkling of his secret dealings with France, though how he knows Charles cannot tell. Who could the real or supposed betrayer have been if not James de la Cloche?

We have seen that he was not always very discreet. He had confided the secret of his birth, despite his father's prohibition, to Christina of Sweden; and the man at Naples (always supposing that he was an impostor) had somehow possessed himself of the secrets of his parentage and religion, which we know Charles wished to keep concealed.

If James was the son of Marguerite de Carteret, two of the most prominent members of Charles's Court were his quasi-cousins, Sir George Carteret and Sir Henry de Vic,³ Chancellor of the Garter. These

¹ *Vale's Tragedy*, p. 33.

² *Ibid.* p. 34.

³ A Guernseyman, but married to Margaret, daughter of Sir Philip de Carteret and thus brother-in-law to Sir George; she was the "Fair Margaret" apostrophised by Prynne.

The Channel Islands

men, though they were both loyal to the Stuarts, were also staunch Protestants, and if recognised or confided in by him, would inevitably have repudiated any connection—both for themselves and the Islands of which they were the chief representatives—with a foreign and Popish plot. It seems possible therefore that Charles II., Louis XIV., and the Roman Catholics all may have felt their safety—perhaps their very existence—depended on James de la Cloche's perpetual silence and disappearance. Voltaire, who had access to better sources of information than any other writer of his time, in his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* says (upon the testimony of officers of the Bastille) that the prisoner was treated by his gaolers with the greatest respect, the Marquis de Louvois and the Governor of Ste. Marguerite standing whenever they addressed him. This confirms the supposition that he was of high, if not of Royal rank, and seems to refute the two other most widely accepted theories as to his identity. The first of these, advanced by M. Delort,¹ is that he was Count Matthioli, the treacherous Minister of Charles III., Duke of Mantua; but M. Jung² has conclusively proved that, whoever the mysterious prisoner was, Count Matthioli he certainly was not. M. Jung himself adopts as his candidate M. de Marchiel, a

¹ *L'Histoire de l'Homme au Masque de Fer* (Paris, 1825).

² *La Vérité sur le Masque de Fer (Les Empoisonneurs), après des Documents inédits des Archives de la Guerre et autres dépôts publics, 1664—1703* (Paris, 1873).

Charles II. in Jersey

French soldier of fortune, and the head of a widespread and formidable conspiracy for the assassination of Louis XIV. and his Ministry. It is noticeable, however, that one of the points upon which M. Jung relies—the fact that Matthioli could not speak French, whereas the masked man *spoke it with a foreign accent*—does not agree at all well with the theory that the prisoner was a Frenchman like de Marchiel, but fits most admirably the hypothesis that he was a Jerseyman like de la Cloche. And if the prisoner was a simple citizen like de Marchiel, why was so much deference shown him? Why were such anxious precautions taken concerning him? Why was he not at once consigned to an *oubliette* like any ordinary prisoner? But he may well have been the man whom Louvois, the War Minister of Louis XIV., on July 19th, 1669—less than three months after Charles's letter to his sister concerning the leakage of their most cherished secrets—bade Saint-Mars at Pignerol expect from Dunkirk, and described as being a "prisoner of the very highest importance—a valet."¹ His safe-keeping was of the "last importance"² to Louis XIV.; "he must have intercourse with nobody; his windows must be where nobody can pass; several bolted doors must cut him off from the sound of human voices."³ Night and day he had to wear a mask, and he was to be threatened with death if he spoke one word except with regard to his actual needs. From Pignerol he was moved with "extraordinary

¹ *Valet's Tragedy*, p. 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ *Ibid.* p. 9.

The Channel Islands

precautions to the Ile Sainte-Marguerite, and thence to the Bastille, where—still masked—he died on November 19th, 1703.

Mr. Lang says the Man in the Mask cannot have been "under fifty-three" at the date of his death: Voltaire asserts that the prisoner on his deathbed told the apothecary of the Bastille that he thought himself to be about sixty years of age; de la Cloche would have been fifty-six. The prisoner, we are told, was "very devout and read perpetually," which agrees with the early characteristics of James de la Cloche; and all the private and important papers belonging to de la Cloche which are now in the hands of the Jesuits would hardly have fallen into their possession if he had been the James Stuart who died leaving a wife and heirs at Naples.

Doubts may be cast on a theory which involves an apparently affectionate father consigning his son to a living tomb, and a King of France spending money and trouble to keep a King of England's secret. But in reply it must be urged that Charles's conduct is consistent with all we read in history respecting his cowardly selfishness. In reply to complaints made to him of Lauderdale's cruelty in Scotland, he said, "I perceive that Lauderdale has been guilty of many bad things against the people of Scotland, but I cannot find out that he has acted against my interests."

During the alleged Popish Plot, although a Roman Catholic he had calmly signed the death-warrants of men whom he must have looked upon as martyrs.

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MONT FIQUET, JERSEY



Charles II. in Jersey

To one so callous to the sufferings of others, where his own safety was concerned, the lifelong imprisonment of a man possessed of secrets which would, if betrayed, endanger his life and throne, must have appeared comparatively unimportant. Louis XIV. naturally considered it beneficial that England should continue to be ruled by a King who had already sold him Dunkirk, and who was then concocting that shameful Treaty of Dover by which Charles virtually agreed to become the vassal of France. Louis fully realised that a hint as to Charles's secession to Rome would certainly produce another Revolution and thus ruin all France's deep-laid plans.

The French King also entertained that real affection for the Stuarts afterwards so amply proved by his hospitality to the exiled King James. This affection was encouraged and developed by Charles's favourite sister, Henrietta of Orleans, who would, for her brother's sake, certainly have used all her influence to keep James de la Cloche safely immured. "I pity him," answered Louis to his inquisitive valet Laborde, "but his detention injures only himself and has prevented great misfortunes ; you cannot know him."

If that was the fate of Marguerite's son, what sort of existence must his unhappy mother have led during her eighty-seven years of life? Was she doomed, after twenty years of peace and prosperity in her fair island home, to be exposed to the scorn of her rigid Calvinist relatives for trusting to "false, fleeting, perjured" Charles, to be forced

The Channel Islands

perhaps into a loveless marriage with the boastful, pushing, hard-natured man inferior in rank to herself that local history portrays Jean de la Cloche to have been,¹ and, added to all, to endure the ever-present agony of uncertainty as to the fate of her first-born son?

History has given the masked man one of its crowns of martyrdom, but surely many would account it the happier lot to live alone and mentally free, even though behind "stone walls" and "iron bars," than to be perpetually compelled to act a part and weighed down the while with a shameful secret.

¹ He was elected jurat in 1666, but in 1685, after a protracted law-suit with the Crown officers regarding—*inter alia*—his title, he decided not to resume his seat on the bench unless officially called Esquire ("Ecuyer"). In 1689 he was suspended from office for vilifying his wife's cousin, Sir Edward de Carteret. On October 22nd, 1692, being then a Colonel of Militia, he was reported to have, while at the head of three companies of his regiment, mercilessly beaten Mr. Nicolas Journeaux with a thick stick; this brawl took place on a Sunday morning, after Divine service, in the churchyard of St. Saviour's parish. (*Actes des Etats*, and 25^{me} Bulletin of the Société Jersiaise, pp. 275-6.)

LE FRET POINT, JERSEY



CHAPTER VII
JERSEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

Il manque toujours quelque chose à la belle vie, qui ne finit pas sur le champ de bataille, en exil, ou sur l'échafaud.—LAMENNAIS.

CHAPTER VII

JERSEY IN THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

THE circumstances that led to the abdication of James II. did not affect the tranquillity of Jersey—in fact, for nearly a century no important events disturbed the peace of the island. But in 1779 the smouldering enmity of France broke into flame, and the Prince of Nassau appeared with a formidable fleet off the Bay of St. Ouen and there attempted to disembark. The invaders were repulsed, however, by the 78th Regiment assisted by the local Militia ; and the timely arrival of a British squadron under Sir James Wallace caused them to be nearly annihilated.

At Christmas-tide of the following year the French made a fresh attempt to conquer the island. On the morning of December 26th, 1780, in response to a fiery signal lit the previous night between Rozel and La Coupe, two thousand French troops under the command of an adventurer called Macquart, who had assumed the title of Baron de Rullecourt, embarked at Granville. They ran into a furious gale, and when de Rullecourt reached Jersey on the evening of

The Channel Islands

January 5th he found his army reduced to twelve hundred men. They were piloted by Pierre Journeaux, a renegade Jerseyman, to a landing place at the Banc de Violet, and, under cover of the darkness, de Rullecourt landed his men and marched, totally unperceived, to the town of St. Helier.

On entering the town they killed a man called Pierre Arrivé, who was standing at his door, and in the Royal Square they killed the sentry and surprised the guard. Great was the dismay of the inhabitants when they awoke the following morning to find their town full of French soldiers, without a shot having been fired or an alarm given.

The Lieutenant-Governor, who at this time was Major Moses Corbet, was asleep in his house,¹ when Captain Clement Hemery, a Jerseyman, ran to tell him of the enemy's arrival. The house was immediately surrounded and he was taken prisoner, but not before he had managed to send information by Captain Hemery to the 78th, 83rd, and 95th Regiments, who were stationed in various parts of the island.

He was then taken to the Court House, where de Rullecourt induced him to sign a capitulation, and also orders to Captain Mulcaster, commanding at Elizabeth Castle, to surrender that fortress, and to Major Pierson, commanding the remaining portion of the troops, that all his men should lay down their arms. But the former officer, saying that he "could

¹ Now 25, Grosvenor Street.

HELICROUTE WAY, JERSEY



Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

not understand French," took not the slightest notice of these instructions; and the latter replied, "Oui, nous porterons nos armes à la Maison de Ville, mais ce sera la bayonette au bout de fusil." And immediately, reinforced by the island Militia, marched towards the town with his little army, and in a short space of time the Battle of Jersey was being fought in the Royal Square at St. Helier.

Just as the division commanded by Major Pierson entered the Square through La Rue ès Cuochons (now called Pierson Street) they encountered a storm of French bullets, and their gallant leader fell dead into the arms of his grenadiers. For a moment his men fell back in confusion, but when Philip Dumaresq, a young subaltern of the Jersey Militia, cried out that if there was no Englishman willing to avenge his Major there was at least one Jerseyman ready to die with him, the infuriated men rushed forwards, the French were compelled to retreat, and the day was won. De Rullecourt fell, mortally wounded, and died that night in M. Lerrier's house.

The island forces lost twenty-three killed and sixty-eight wounded, the French seventy-eight killed and seventy-four wounded. Corbet, the Lieutenant-Governor, was afterwards tried by court-martial and superseded, although he was allowed by Government a pension of £250 a year.

Major Pierson was buried in the church of St. Helier, where a marble monument was erected to his memory by the people of Jersey. In the adjoining cemetery

The Channel Islands

lies Baron de Rullecourt, only a few feet of earth separating his remains from those of his gallant foe.

In the Court House hangs a copy of Copley's celebrated picture representing the "Death of Major Francis Pierson of the 95th Regiment, on the morning of January 6th, 1781, in his twenty-ninth year" (*sic*).¹

Mindful of the bold attempt on Jersey which had thus been made by an inconspicuous Frenchman, the English authorities in later years naturally thought it necessary to increase and improve the island's defences against Napoleon. During Sir George Don's term of office as Governor (1806-14), Fort Regent was begun and nearly completed, Mont Orgueil and Fort Elizabeth were strengthened, the Militia were reorganised, and picturesque old winding lanes were straightened into military roads. The harbour also was enlarged and improved—a very necessary work, owing to the increased number of vessels England sent to protect these shores.

In 1794 Captain Philip d'Auvergne, R.N., was stationed off Jersey in the *Nonsuch*, with a flotilla of gunboats under his command for the defence of the Channel Islands, and with orders to communicate with and befriend the Royalist party on the coast of France.

Born in Jersey in 1754, Philip was descended from the noble French family of the Counts d'Auvergne. A cadet of this house, bearing the name of Thiebault d'Auvergne, had received a grant of land in St. Ouen's

¹ He was actually not more than twenty-four years old.

Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

parish in 1232. In the latter part of the eighteenth century His Serene Highness Godfrey de la Tour d'Auvergne, Duc de Bouillon, was in want of a representative of his line to whom he might bequeath his title and vast wealth. About this time Lieutenant Philip d'Auvergne, being then a prisoner of war in France, was introduced to the Duke, who decided that in him he had at last found his long-sought heir. After employing experts to trace the descent of the Jersey family of d'Auvergne, the Duke in 1786 issued Letters Patent, under his own seal and signature, acknowledging Charles d'Auvergne and General d'Auvergne (father and uncle of Philip) to be descended from the ancient Counts d'Auvergne, confirming to them the armorial bearings of his family, and, with the consent of His Britannic Majesty, formally adopting Philip d'Auvergne as his son and heir.

Notwithstanding the Duke's attempt to bribe him to exchange the service of England for that of France, Philip elected to remain in the English navy, and ultimately he attained the rank of a Vice-Admiral.

In 1802, after the death of the Duke, Philip went to Paris to claim his inheritance, which had been appropriated by the French Republic. But the Consular Government had not forgotten or forgiven the services he had rendered the Royalists whilst serving in the English Channel. He was immediately arrested and thrown into prison, his papers were seized, and after a few days of ill-treatment he was turned out of France.

The Channel Islands

After the Restoration of the Bourbons he was, for a short time, put into nominal possession of his inheritance ; but by an Act of the Congress of Vienna, upon "considerations of general policy" his claims were finally set aside in favour of Prince Charles de Rohan, another far-away relative of the late Duke.

This final disappointment, coming after so many others, may well have made Philip feel with Gloucester—

As flies to wanton boys, are we to the gods ;
They kill us for their sport—

and he retired to London, where he died in an hotel on September 18th, 1816, just a year and a half after his only son had died on board ship off Colombo.

While Philip d'Auvergne was stationed in Jersey, he had shown his gratitude to his French relatives by taking under his special protection the many French refugees who fled thither from the fury of the Revolution. Between 1790 and 1793 more than four thousand Royalists, principally ecclesiastics and representatives of the French *noblesse*, sought safety in the island. There were not enough buildings to house them, and in a very short space of time the town of St. Helier doubled in size. Among these came René de Chateaubriand, the famous author of *Mémoires d'Outre-Tombe* and other works. Even as late as 1815 the Duc de Berry—who was doomed a few years later to die at the Paris opera by the

LA POULEC, L'ETAC, JERSEY



Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

hand of an assassin—was glad to escape to the island for a month or two.

In the middle of the nineteenth century it was the turn of the French Republicans to flee to Jersey. Pierre le Roux, Théophile Guérin, Paul Meurice, Auguste Vacquerie, Madame de Girardin, and, most celebrated of all, Victor Hugo were among the political exiles.

They started a newspaper among themselves called *L'Homme*, in which all kings and rulers were held up to execration. This paper in October, 1855, reproduced a scurrilous letter which had been written and published in London by a Frenchman called Félix Pyat on the subject of Queen Victoria's recent visit to Paris. The greatest excitement was caused by this lampoon, an "indignation meeting" was called, the paper was publicly burnt, and the three men principally concerned in its production were immediately sent out of the island. On this Victor Hugo wrote a strongly worded protest—terminating with the exclamation, "Et maintenant expulsez nous!"—which he called the "Déclaration des Proscrits" and which was signed by a large number of his fellow-countrymen. Therein he complained that in a land which boasted of the liberty of its Press his compatriots had been banished, without even a trial, simply for reprinting a letter which had been published without comment or consequences in England. This protest roused deep feeling on both sides of the Channel, and it was decided by the Governor that Victor Hugo and

The Channel Islands

all those who signed this document must also leave Jersey. Some went to England, some to Spain, Victor Hugo went to Guernsey.

Since Hugo's departure General Boulanger has been perhaps the most important political claimant to Jersey hospitality, which has more recently been extended to a large number of representatives of religious orders driven out of France.

During the eighteenth century Jersey society was divided into two parties, whose mutual hatred was as great as that of the Whigs and Tories in England. Their origin was as follows.¹

In the year 1776 Charles Lemprière, Seigneur of Rozel, was Lieutenant-Bailiff of Jersey, the Bailiff at that time being his cousin, Lord Carteret, who spent so much of his time out of the island that Mr. Lemprière felt he was himself Bailiff in all but name. As we know, in those days the number of advocates was limited to six, and they were appointed by the Bailiff alone. Mr. Lemprière promised the next vacancy at the Bar to a man called Ricard; but another Jerseyman, Mr. Jean Dumaisq,² went off secretly to London, saw Lord Carteret, and obtained the appointment from him without consulting Mr. Lemprière in the matter. This was taken by the Lieutenant-

¹ *Ville de St. Helier*, pp. 157-63.

² He afterwards married Miss Mary le Mesurier, daughter of John le Mesurier, Governor of Alderney. He became Attorney-General, was named Lieutenant-Bailiff by Lord Carteret on January 7th, 1802, and resigned his office in 1816. He lived at St. Peter's House, the residence of the present Bailiff of Jersey (Mr. Nicolle's MSS.).

Jersey in the Eighteenth Century

Bailiff to be a covert insult, and his anger against Dumaresq soon broke out in the Court House, where disgraceful personalities were exchanged between them. All Jersey took sides with one or other of the opponents, the partisans of Charles Lemprière being called *Charlots*, and those of Jean Dumaresq *Jeannois*, though the latter, owing to an after-dinner epigram, were soon after given the name of *Magots*.

About 1817, at the election of a jurat, the Charlots decorated their houses with branches of laurel, while the Magots used roses as their emblem, and thus the names of the factions were changed into *Les Lauriers* and *Les Roses*. The Lauriers represented the Tory or Conservative party, the Roses were Whigs or Radicals, and these two factions included the entire population of Jersey.

Time has now softened all these asperities, and only in the parish of St. Ouen do any vestiges of them remain, but their former violence may be judged from the words of Inglis,¹ an English resident, who wrote in 1834: "It is utterly impossible for any one unacquainted with Jersey to form any idea of the lengths to which party spirit is carried there. It not only taints the fountains of public justice, but enters into the most private relations of life. A Laurel and a Rose man are as distinct, and have as little in common between them, as if they were men, not only of different countries, but of countries hostile to each other. . . . A great mass of the country people, and

¹ *Channel Islands*, pp. 105-6.

The Channel Islands

tradespeople of the towns also, are of one party ; and in their tenacious adherence to that party they believe that they are defending their island privileges, which they allege are constantly attacked by the party of the better educated and higher classes."

The local Press took up and fostered the quarrel, and each party had its official organ, which belaboured its opponents in the true spirit and style of the *London Gazette*. And although the Jersey people possess many attractive qualities, yet a vehement party spirit must be reckoned among their especial attributes. Their own writer Payne¹ sums up their characteristics by saying that they are distinguished by "great and proverbial powers of memory, much and genuine hospitality, an innate and Hibernianesque wit, with which is curiously blended the phlegm and frugality of the cannie Scot, an incurable mania for petty political intrigue, and a native bravery that needs no other eulogy than it has already gained in the annals of the island."

¹ *Armorial*, p. 11.

OLD JERSEY WOMAN





CHAPTER VIII
THE ISLAND OF JERSEY

Jersey dort dans les flots, ces éternels grondeurs,
Et dans sa petitesse elle a les deux grandeurs.
Ile, elle a l'Océan ; roche, elle est la montagne.
Par le sud Normandie et par le nord Bretagne
Elle est pour nous la France, et, dans son lit de fleurs,
Elle en a le sourire et quelquefois les pleurs.

—VICTOR HUGO.

CHAPTER VIII

THE ISLAND OF JERSEY

ALMOST every Islander knows from sad experience how dreary and tempestuous the English Channel can be, and has approached his journey's end—with feelings of devout thankfulness that the voyage is so nearly over—to find the coasts shrouded in mist and foam, and the cold grey waves heaving under him even in harbour. But fortunately it is not always thus, and nothing can be more delightful on a brilliant summer morning than to steam along the coast of Jersey, and to watch each well-known point rise into view.

After Grosnez is passed come the cruel jagged peaks of the Corbière, culminating in the straight white spire of the lighthouse. Such great mysterious rocks lie around each of the islands, that they give the impression of being the self-appointed guardians of their native shores; some of them resemble strange sea-monsters just come up to breathe, others are like gaunt priests, weird women, or giant warriors with their feet wrapped in foam. How many would-be

The Channel Islands

invaders, both friends and foes, have they lain in wait for, wrestled with, and overcome in the days gone by?

Behind them follow a succession of cool green bays, Portelet, St. Brelade's, and the white sweep of sand which forms St. Aubin's, until grey Elizabeth Castle looms on the horizon and the boat steams between the pier heads into the harbour of St. Helier. The first impression of both harbour and town is disappointing. The former is flat and colourless, and the latter, though clean and prosperous and boasting of excellent shops, has been so modernised and rebuilt that almost all its individuality has been destroyed, and it is now very much like Ryde, Southsea, or any modern English watering-place.

The most interesting spot to be found within it is the Royal Square—the old market-place. Here the Battle of Jersey was fought and gallant Pierson fell, here is the modern Court House on the site of the old Cohue Royale—where almost every important event in Jersey history has either been discussed or taken place—and here is the splendid library founded by Falle, one of Jersey's earliest historians. In the centre of the square is a gilt statue, erected in 1751 on the site of the old market cross, and said to represent George II. But irreverent tradition states that it was some Roman Emperor's effigy washed ashore from a shipwrecked vessel, and that the thrifty Islanders re-christened it and set it up with many rejoicings, on this spot; just as at Rome, in an earlier age, the

LA CORBIÈRE LIGHTHOUSE, JERSEY



The Island of Jersey

statue of Jupiter had its thunderbolts removed and replaced by keys and was thenceforth revered as representing St. Peter.

At the bottom of the square, towards the sea, lies the parish church of St. Helier, an old brown Norman building with a low square tower. It contains many interesting monuments, notably the one to Major Pierson, while outside the church is a tombstone saying that "H. Durell, junior, décédé le 31 Avril, 1755."

In a neighbouring street stands the museum of the Société Jersiaise, where relics of the past and information relating to the history and literature of the island are collected and preserved. The most valuable treasure it contains is the magnificent gold torque which was recently found under St. Aubin's sands while the foundations of the Grand Hotel were being dug. It is a spirally twisted gold chain three feet long and of about the thickness of a man's thumb, and terminating in long golden hooks. It weighs a hundred pounds' worth of solid gold, and is said to be of Oriental workmanship. Various torques of this description have been dug up in Great Britain and France, as well as in the peat beds of Ireland, and they are supposed to have formed part of the plunder obtained by the Roman conquerors from a Celtic or Oriental army.

The moment the town is left behind and the country is reached, the magic of Jersey begins to be felt. The island slopes from north to south so

The Channel Islands

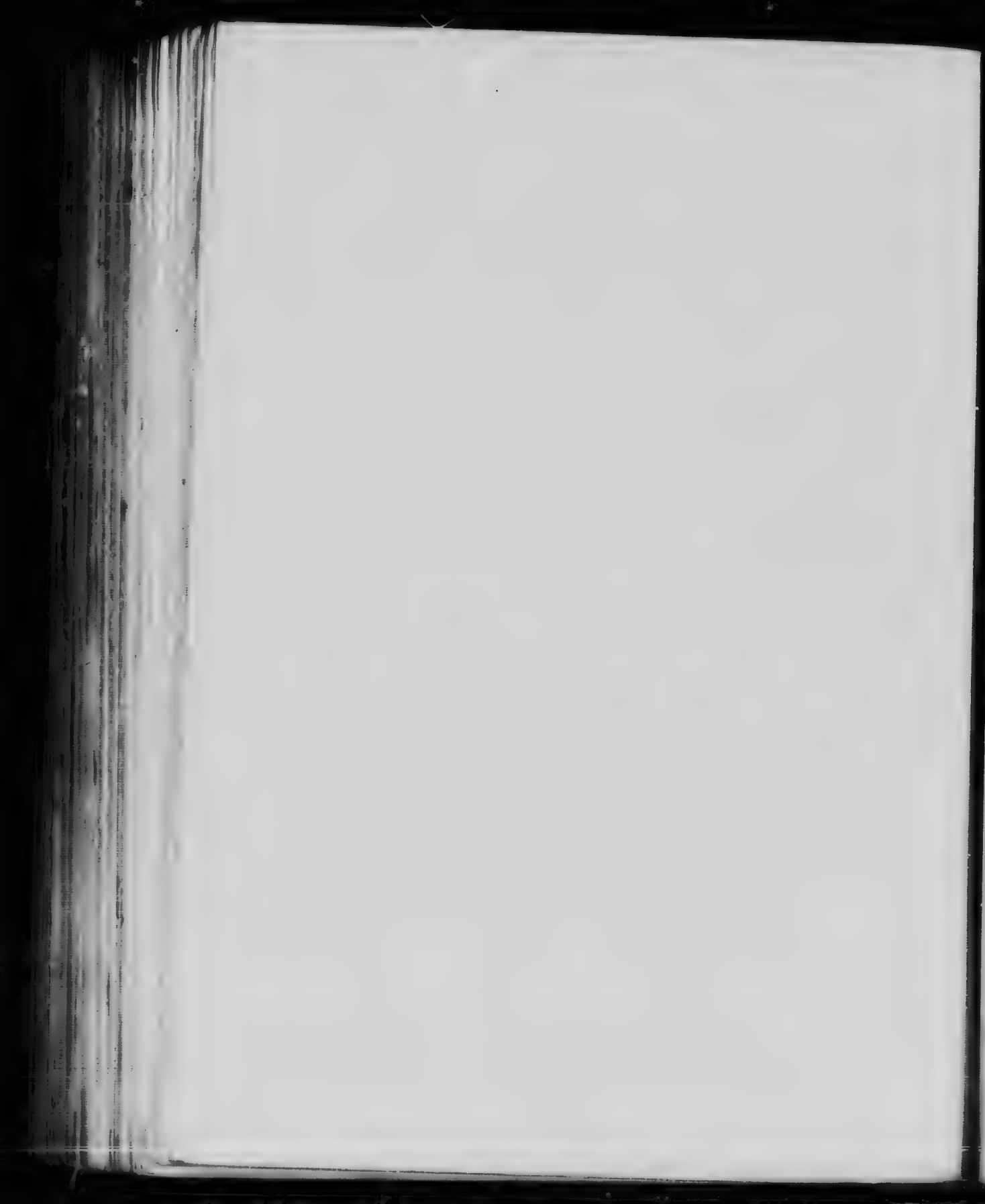
that all the southern coast, crumpled into hills and valleys and watered by countless streams, descends slowly to the water's edge, where it disappears in long flat reaches of sand and rocks.

At St. Aubin's, west of St. Helier, there are at low tide over four miles of wonderful glistening sand—cream, brown, and silver in the shade, copper, orange, and purple in the sun—chequered with a network of rocks, and melting imperceptibly away into a sapphire-blue sea.

On the shore side the land, in spring, is brown—bare earth all trenched and dug ready for the inevitable potato, Jersey's great produce and mainstay. Her potato crop brought half a million of money into Jersey last year, so small wonder that this root is largely grown. Against the brown slopes, the houses stand out with added distinctness, the newer buildings generally square and white, the older ones almost invariably of granite and roofed with thatch or red tiles. And in and out between the fields and houses, and following the course of the winding valleys, are numberless country roads and lanes, outlined by high banks—banks so high, indeed, that the roads seem but trenches cut in the soil. Ivy, hawthorn, and furze grow from the tops of these banks, trees overarch the way with their branches and send their snake-like roots down under the grass and flowers and clustering ferns to the firm ground beneath, and supply many a hiding-place to the toads for which the island is famous. Every turn opens on

BY THE SANDY SHORE, JERSEY





The Island of Jersey

some exquisite valley, some sloping orchard or wooded hill, through the cool shades or glinting lights of which arises the woodland music of birds and insects.

Now fly they past the tall and spiry fir,
Now by the wide-spread oak with foliage green,
That would not on the moonlight surface stir,
So soft the air, so still the shady scene,
So brilliant all above and all serene
Beneath.

In little patches of ground, sandwiched in between potato fields, are groves of plants which at a distance look like small date palms, but on examination turn out to be the celebrated Jersey cabbage, "which," as every native tells with pride, "will grow nowhere else, and though Guernsey people come over and beg or buy plants and seeds, yet no amount of coaxing or care will induce it to thrive outside Jersey." But it is pleasanter to leave the cabbages behind, and wander through the gorse and heather which cover the downs bordering St. Brelade's Bay. Up at the farthest corner, nestling under the cliff and surrounded by trees, is the quaintest and most charming old church imaginable, with grey granite walls, arched doorways, a stone roof, and a belfry composed of an isolated turret. Beside it, and enclosed in the same churchyard—for the dead are here "entomb'd upon the very hem o' the sea"—stands the Chapelle à Pécheurs, a plain oblong building whose walls display a few remnants of old frescoes, with a vaulted stone roof, with loop-holes for windows, and surmounted by

The Channel Islands

a tiny stone cross so old and roughly hewn that it bends forward looking like a little grey monk with downcast head and folded arms.

Tradition says that this is the oldest Christian edifice in the Islands, and was built by St. Marcouf for the fishermen, as its name denotes. Just beyond it again is the jetty built by those very Norman fishermen who came to the chapel to pray, and then come tall granite rocks and the sea; and here in this little corner, consecrated by more than a thousand years of simple faith, all seems unchanged and unspoilt, and as it may have appeared when the Gospel of Christ was first preached in the Islands.

East of St. Helier, beyond the orchards of Samarés and the little fishing village of Pontac, lie long stretches of furze, sand, and outlying rocks ending in the curve of Gouray Bay, which is dominated by the Castle of Mont Orgueil. Nothing in the other islands can attempt to rival Mont Orgueil in beauty or in interest. Like Stirling and like some of the Rhineland castles, it appears to have grown out of the solid rock, "Fragments of stone, reared by creatures of clay." From its summit on clear days the triple towers of the Cathedral of Coutances are plainly visible. The old keep of the castle and one turret are fairly intact, but the rest is now only a mass of magnificent fragments, arches and ruins of arches, stone stairways—which still seem to echo with the clank of mailed feet—terminating abruptly in some isolated doorway, a lone belfry on a grassy plateau,

The Island of Jersey

and over everything a drapery of lichens and ivy, while between the crevices and revelling upon the crumbling ramparts (like children playing among graves) are brilliant bushes of golden wallflowers. Of all sad things ruins surely are the saddest and the most suggestive.

There is a power,
And magic in the ruin'd battlement
For which the palace of the present hour
Must yield its pomp, and wait till ages are its dower.

The northern side of the island presents characteristics very different from those of the south. Its shores, instead of gently sloping from the sea, rise up in rugged cliffs of desolate grandeur broken into beautiful bays and inlets—Verclut, Anne Port, St. Catherine's, and many others. Bouley Bay is perhaps the finest of all, with its outline of gigantic rocks that stretch from the Tour de Rosel to Belle Hougue. This bit of Jersey, as Hugo says, recalls the precipitous coasts of Brittany, while the south, with its orchards and luxuriant vegetation, is like "la belle Normandie."

The general impression given by the whole island, with its balmy climate and semi-tropical vegetation, is of unbounded fertility and prosperity, and this impression is intensified by the fine old parish churches as well as the charming manor-houses embowered in trees with which the country is interspersed. The houses are like those which Aubrey depicted—"a high strong wall, a gate-house, a great hall and parlours, and within the little green court the barne,

The Channel Islands

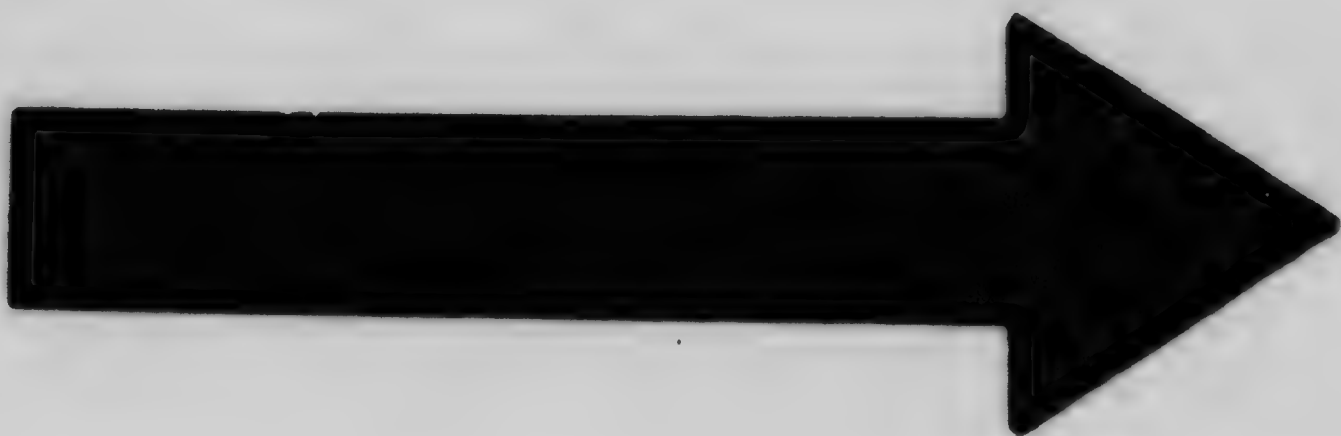
for they think not the noise of the threshold ill musique." The manor-house of St. Ouen for age, grandeur, and beauty ranks before all others, but Rosel, La Hague, Noirmont, the two Vinchelez, Longueville, and many others "built for pleasure and for state," testify to the refinement and taste of Jersey's ancient lords of the soil.

It is not surprising that an island possessed of such heroic traditions and such beautiful scenery should have given birth to warriors like the de Carterets, the Lemprières, the Dumaresqs, the Durels, and le Hardys, to say nothing of the many who recently distinguished themselves in South Africa; or to artists like Monamy, le Capelain, Mr. Jean, Mr. Oules, and, greatest of them all, Sir John Millais. In the paths of literature, moreover, Jerseymen have been well known since the days of Wace. Among the local historians and antiquaries—besides many who are happily still alive—are found the names of Poingdestre, Falle, le Geyt, le Quesne, Durell, le Cras, de la Croix, Payne, etc.; and such well-known authors as Morant, the historian of Essex, and Lemprière, of the *Classical Dictionary*, claim Jersey as their native land.

MONT ORGUEIL CASTLE, JERSEY

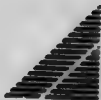
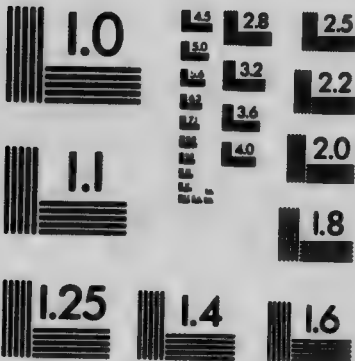


CHAPTER IX
GUERNSEYS EARLY HISTORY



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. . . Old, unhappy, far-off things
And battles long ago.

—WORDSWORTH.

CHAPTER IX

GUERNSEY'S EARLY HISTORY

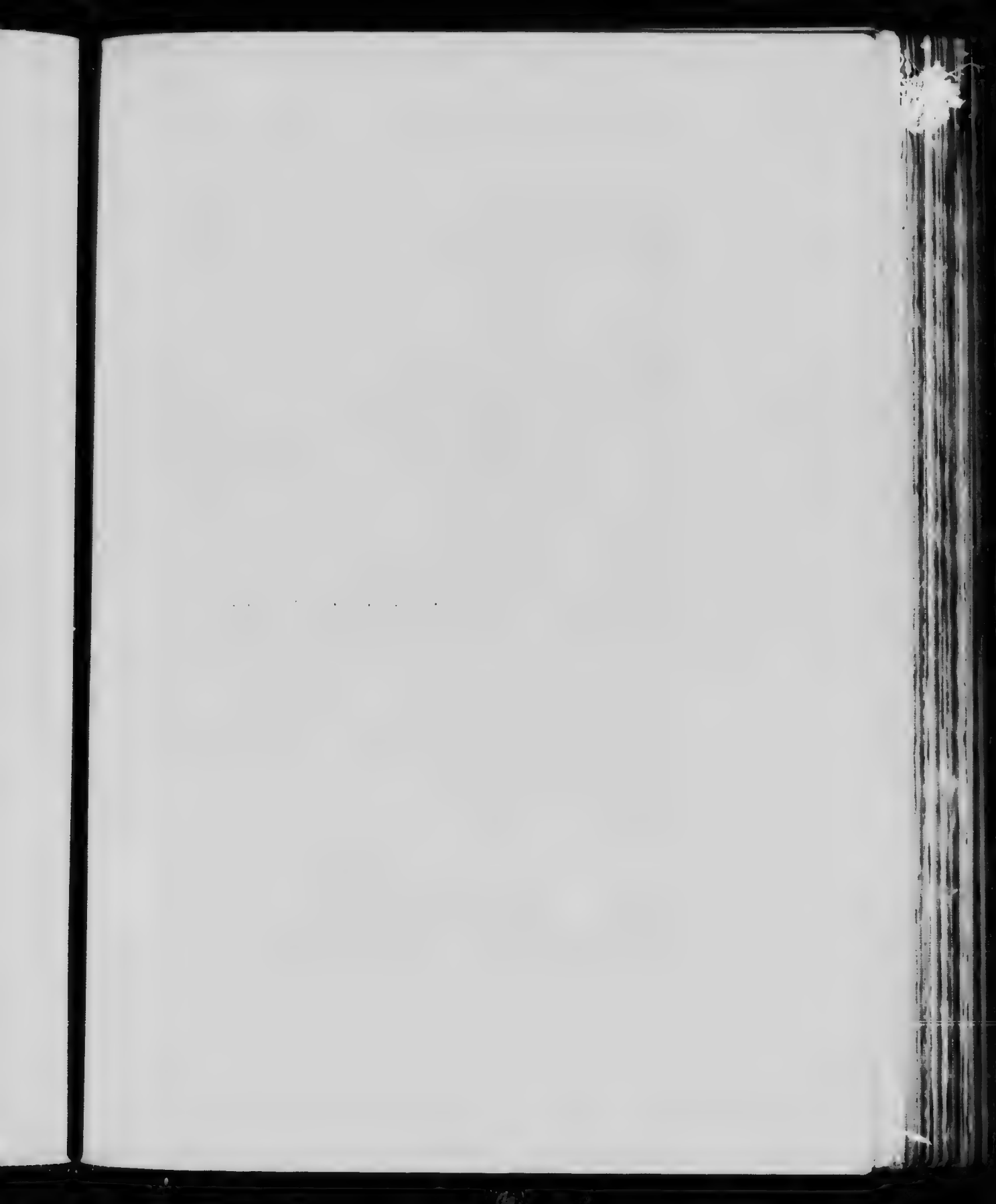
THE history of Guernsey from the thirteenth to the fifteenth century presents one continuous chronicle of devastation, pillage, and bloodshed.

After half a century of turbulence and unrest, Edward I. in 1275 ordered a jetty to be built between St. Peter-Port and Castle Cornet. This was the commencement of the Guernsey harbour, afterwards the source of so much of the island's commercial prosperity. But whatever rampart was then erected can have had but a short-lived existence, as in 1305, by the King's orders, a tax was levied on incoming ships for the purpose of rebuilding the town and repairing the quay, which had been burnt down and destroyed by the French. In the course of the fourteenth century Guernsey was a prey to successive invaders. First in the year 1336 the adherents of David Bruce, the exiled King of Scotland, resenting Edward's support of the usurper Baliol, made a raid upon the island which resulted in much loss of life and destruction of property. Scarcely had this enemy been got rid of when in 1338 Admiral Bahuchet and a large force of Frenchmen came over, conquered the ill-fated and

The Channel Islands

dispirited Guernseymen, took possession of the island and its castles, and retained an intermittent hold of them until 1346. In that year Edward III. sent over a strong force to assist the Islanders in expelling the foe. The town, which had now been laid waste for the third time, was in 1350, by the King's orders, enclosed by a strong wall, as the Castle of Jerbourg, hitherto used as a place of refuge, had also been destroyed. But the intervals of peace known to the men of that generation—during which their national war-cry of "*Diex aie*"¹ was unheard—were few and far between. In 1372 yet another invasion took place; it is renowned in local prose and rhyme as "*La Descente des Arougousais*." The invading host was furnished by Charles V. of France and led by Evan (or Owen), a Prince of Wales, who landed at Vazon Bay and marched his men towards the town, a pitched battle taking place on the plateau just above the old portion of St. Peter-Port. The battle was hotly contested; but the Islanders were finally defeated, and Edmund Rose, the Governor, with his little army retreated into Castle Cornet. After vainly endeavouring to subdue that fortress, the enemy were forced to retire and sailed away. An old local ballad—the only one of historic importance and of a date previous to the introduction of printing which has survived—gives an account of this invasion and subsequent battle, and describes how a Guernseyman, Jean l'Estoc, who had risen "*plus matin qu'à l'accoûtumée*," saw the French

¹ Dieu aide.



LADIES' BATHING PLACE, ST. PETER-FORT, GUERNSEY



Guernsey's Early History

coming and gave the alarm, how Thomelin le Lorreur, Richard Simon, and Rouf Holland distinguished themselves in the affray, and how

Sur le mont de St. Pierre Port
Fut la dure guerre livrée ;
Cinq cents et un fur' mis à mort,
Tant de l'isle que de l'armée.
C'étoit pitié, cette journée.
D'ouïr les pleurs de l'assemblée
Des dames de St. Pierre Port.¹

These "dames," according to an old French chronicle,² had "en ce printemps de lors faid chapeaulx de fleurs et de violettes et les avoient donnés aux jennez hommes" praying them for their love's sake to defend them. Popular tradition has, strangely enough, confounded this battle with an invasion of the fairies. Sir Edgar MacCulloch points out³ how curious it is to see a well-known historical fact assume, in the course of ages, the form of a myth, and how Yvain de Galles and his troops have been converted into the heroes of fairyland—a confirmation of the popular belief that all the original fairy tales arose from the possible ascription to dwarfed aboriginal races of the qualities of fairy or brownie, and the possible development of elfin tradition round actual pygmies, cave-dwellers, and hill-peoples of bygone days.

In 1445 Henry VI. gave the Channel Islands, which

¹ *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 450 and 551.

² *Chronique des quatre Premiers Valois*, edited by Simon Luce (1862), pp. 230-31.

³ *Guernsey Folklore*, p. 199.

The Channel Islands

had barely recovered one of their periodic invasions—that of Pedro Nino in 1406—to Henry de Beauchamp, Duke of Warwick, for the annual rent of a red rose due on Midsummer Day ;¹ Warwick's daughter Anne succeeded him in 1447, and was "Dame des Iles" until her death in 1449, when she was herself succeeded by her uncle Richard Neville, Earl of Warwick, the famous "King-maker." That great man visited Guernsey in person in October, 1459, and in the following year he gave the command of the now demolished Tour de Beauregard—then standing on the summit of Tower Hill—to his "chier et brave Drouwet le Marchant."² Perhaps "Drouwet" had distinguished himself in the naval engagement which, according to the *Paston Letters*,³ seems to have taken place off the Islands about this time.

"BOTONER TO JOHN PASTON.

"8th June, 1454.

"WORSHPFULL SYR,—

". . . The Frenshmen hafe be afore the Is. of Gersey and Gernessey, and a grete navey of hem, and v^e [500] be taken and slayn of hem by men of the seyd trew Isles."

Of these far-away days only two events seem to have lingered in the popular recollection. One is the invasion of 1372—the memory of which has been

¹ *Gardiens et Seigneurs*, etc., p. 419.

² *Le Marchant MSS.*

³ Edited by James Gairdner, London, 1872, vol. i. pp. 289-90.

Guernsey's Early History

preserved by the ballad already quoted—and the other is the disastrous fate of Gaultier de la Salle, one of Guernsey's earliest bailiffs.

The true story of de la Salle has hitherto been obscured by a cloud of myth and legend. Local histories and guide-books generally tell us that he was Bailiff of Guernsey and lived at the house now known as the Ville au Roi ; that in order to gain possession of a piece of land which he long had coveted, he accused its owner (a poor man of the name of Massey), of stealing some silver cups, which he had himself hidden in a hayrick, but that his crime was discovered in time, the rôles of accuser and victim were reversed, and the Bailiff was thereupon hanged on the gibbet prepared for Massey.

Now all this story about Massey is pure invention, and is probably derived from a confused recollection of the doings and motives of the rival "wicked Bailiff" of Jersey, Hoste Nicolle. The facts about de la Salle as derived from the Assize Records and Patent Rolls are as follows:—

In the Patent Rolls for 1313-14 we find that "protection is granted for Walter (Gaultier) de la Salle, a clerk, going to the islands of Gerneseye and Jereseye." A clerk in those days generally meant any one of fair education or trained in a learned profession, and in the Assize Roll of 1319 Gaultier is described as "minister" of Otho de Grandison, then Governor of the Islands.

More than fifteen years previously—before 1304—

The Channel Islands

one of the monks of Lihou, Brother John del Espin, had been murdered for some reason now unknown by two men, Ranulph Vautier or Gautier (for his name is spelt both ways) and Guillaume l'Enginour. Both were men of a certain social standing, for Ranulph Vautier in 1299 was a prominent official under Otho de Grandison,¹ and Guillaume l'Enginour was most probably a descendant of the Guillaume l'Enginour, lord of Alderney, who in 1222 gave lands and rents to the Abbey of Cherbourg.²

After murdering the monk, Guillaume and Ranulph took refuge in the church of St. Sampson's and abjured the Islands; but they were subsequently forgiven by the King and restored to their homes. Then Guillaume l'Enginour turned against his former associate, and in conjunction with Gaultier de la Salle, John Justice, and Christian Hert, made away with Ranulph Gautier by imprisoning him "in the Castle of the Island of Gerneseye [Castle Cornet] contrary to law and custom and there wickedly killing him by various tortures."³ Of this gang Gaultier, who presumably was the ringleader, seems to have been the only one severely punished. He was condemned to death in 1320 by Peter le Marchant, then Bailiff of Guernsey. The spot where he partook of the Sacrament on the way to his execution is marked by a flat stone upon which a cross is roughly incised, and is

¹ *Cours Royales*, p. 193.

² *Archives de la Manche*, Série H, H2308, p. 361.

³ *Patent Rolls*, April 20th, 1321.

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PETIT BOT VALLEY, GUERNSEY



Guernsey's Early History

still called the "Bailiff's Cross." The execution took place a little farther on in the old "hanging field" or "Courtil du Gibet," in St. Andrew's parish. Gaultier's accomplices fled to the church of St. Peter-Port, abjured the Islands, and were shortly afterwards pardoned by the King; and William l'Enginour, in spite of the two murders in which he was known to have been concerned, and of his also having confessed that he had stolen a silver ring and a golden florin from the chaplain John Soulemont, was so far received back into favour that in 1323 we find him mentioned as being a sheriff of the Royal Court.¹

There seems to be very little doubt that Gaultier did live in and probably built the house traditionally associated with his name, and long said to be haunted by his ghost: for the British Museum² contains a petition from his widow Cecilia, claiming this house with its appurtenant land—which had been forfeited on her husband's execution—as built with and bought by her money, her husband having come to the island "sans nul bien fors son corps."

In Gaultier's time this property was known as Petit Ville, but after having fallen into the King's hands it was known as Ville au Roi, and it bears that name to the present day.

The successive invasions we have chronicled, the consequent distress experienced by the Islanders, and the unswerving loyalty they nevertheless displayed, caused various charters to be granted them by several

¹ *Cours Royales*, p. 222.

² Add. Ch. 19809.

The Channel Islands

kings of England ; the preambles of these charters generally stating that the conduct of the Islanders in their allegiance to England was such as deserved Royal favour, and then going on to declare them "a free people, subject to no authority but what emanates immediately from the Crown, and yet to be considered throughout the King's dominions, not as foreigners and strangers, but as native Englishmen."

During the reign of Edward IV. a still more important and somewhat extraordinary privilege was confirmed—that of neutrality during time of war. This was ratified by Pope Sixtus IV. in a Bull dated 1483, and was renewed by successive sovereigns, and in an especial manner by Queen Elizabeth. A translation from her charter shows how very comprehensive was this right,¹ namely, "that in the time of war, the merchants of all nations, and others, as well foreigners as natives, as well enemies as friends, may and shall be permitted freely, lawfully, and without fear or danger, to resort, accede to, and frequent the foresaid . . . maritime places, with their ships, merchandises and goods, as well to avoid tempests as to pursue their other lawful affairs ; and there to exercise a free commerce ; there safely and quietly to stay and remain ; and thence to return and come back at any time, without any damage, molestation, or hostility whatsoever, in their wares, merchandises, goods, or bodies ; and that not only within the

¹ *Cesarea*, p. 245.

Guernsey's Early History

Islands and the precincts of the same, but also all around them, at such space and distance as is within man's ken, that is, as far as the eye of man can reach."

It is supposed that the original object of this right of neutrality was of a religious character, in order to preserve a free and uninterrupted communication between the Islands and their Bishop at Coutances; it is certain that it became relaxed after they were transferred to the See of Winchester by Elizabeth. In the following century the Islanders, finding the system of privateering would be more beneficial to them, adopted it, without being checked—in fact, authorised by the British sovereigns. This privilege of neutrality was finally abolished by William III.

Besides ratifying all the Islanders' previous charters and confirming their ancient privileges, Queen Elizabeth testified her goodwill to the people of Guernsey by authorising the south arm of the old harbour to be built, and enlarging and fortifying Castle Cornet: for she knew how the Islands had incurred the enmity of the French Court by the asylum they afforded to numbers of Protestant refugees from France, including some of the highest rank, and she accordingly strengthened both Guernsey and Jersey by additional fortifications. In 1563 she granted eighty quarters of wheat rent and the lands and buildings of a convent of Franciscan Friars or Cordeliers, who had been expelled from the island by Bailiff Compton in the reign of Henry VIII., for the foundation of

The Channel Islands

a grammar school in St. Peter-Port to be called after her name. This was the precursor of the present Elizabeth College. Its first schoolmaster was Dr. Adrian Saravia, a Fleming, who afterwards proceeded to England, where in 1600 he became one of the band of translators to whom we owe the Authorised Version of the Bible. The school for many years did not fulfil the aims of its Royal foundress. A series of incompetent and untrustworthy masters, and the apathy of the authorities, emptied it of pupils, but after an inquiry had in 1824 been made into the existing state of things, the statutes were re-organised, a new charter was granted, and the present College was built.

GUERNSEY FROM FORT GEORGE



CHAPTER X

GUERNSEY IN THE DAYS OF THE STUARTS

Within a long recess there lies a bay,
An island shades it from the rolling sea,
And forms a port.

—DRYDEN.

CHAPTER X

GUERNSEY IN THE DAYS OF THE STUARTS

THE seventeenth century found the Guernsey people in a state of great discontent and distress. Charles I. had destroyed the tobacco crops whereby they had hoped to increase their fortunes, and, like his predecessor, had sent over successive garrisons of soldiers, the entire cost of which, contrary to law and justice, the Islanders were made to defray. A petition dated September 29th, 1629, sets forth that the island was then visited with a great plague "whereby all commerce is taken from us, and all manner of imployment both in towne and countrey, and that the inhabitants are growne exceedinge poore, what with the losse of almost all their shippinge during the lauste troubles with Fraunce, as also with taxes for fortifications and enterテインement of the soldiers, insoemuch that the best able can hardly supplie their owne necessities, the others being like to perish for want."¹ In spite of petitions and deputations, however, the Islanders failed to recover any of the money they were thus forced to disburse. Nevertheless, when in 1636

¹ *Actes des Etats*, p. 156.

The Channel Islands

a large Guernsey vessel homeward bound from Newfoundland was taken captive and its island crew sold into slavery by Algerian pirates, the Royal Court prayed the King to ransom the prisoners, adding that should he consent to do so the Islanders would then acquit him of all arrears of debt.¹ To this request, as to all that had preceded it, the King turned a deaf ear, so that it is not to be wondered at that the majority of Guernseymen took the side of the Parliament in the ensuing Civil Wars.

Another prominent factor in insular politics had been the influx of Huguenot refugees during Elizabeth's reign. Many of these, notably the Lefebvres, le Moynes, and Dobrées,² married and settled down in the island. Calvinism, administered under the forms of the French Protestant Church, was still the creed of Guernsey, dating from the time when William de Beauvoir, the Bailiff, had taken refuge at Geneva upon Queen Mary's accession. Elected Deacon of the English Church there under John Knox and Miles Coverdale, he had persuaded Calvin as a token of personal friendship to send over one of his French disciples—the Rev. Nicholas Baudouin—to fill the vacant living of St. Peter-Port; and Protestantism

¹ *Actes des Etats*, pp. 175-6.

² The two former families were among the lesser *noblesse* of Vitre in Brittany. The Dobrées or d'Aubrays were Normans, and some members of the family rose to great riches and honour, until the Marquise de Brinvilliers (*née* d'Aubray) was beheaded and burnt in Paris for poisoning her father and two brothers, and thus, in 1676, this branch became extinct.

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CLIFFS NEAR LE GOUFFRE, GUERNSEY



Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

had been thus finally established in the island. In Jersey the discipline of the Church of England had been, by the influence of Dean Bandinel, established in 1620 ; but about the year 1630 Lord Danby, the Governor of Guernsey, set forth some excellent reasons against altering the existing form of worship in that island. For example : "The uniformity of the Islanders with those of the French Church keeps such a correspondency and association between them that those of the religion esteem them a part of themselves. Whereupon they have continued intercourse and intelligence, giving the Islanders notice of all practices and designs against them. And . . . they make alliances and marry their children with the Islanders. . . . Besides, in former times, persons of great quality have retired themselves and families into that island, as the Prince of Condé and his lady, who lived there more than a year. . . . No papist of any nation will dwell, or is permitted to inhabit [those islands], which the better secures them to the crown of England."¹

Thus the religious as well as the political bias of the Guernsey people was on the side of the Protestant and devout Cromwellians and opposed to the wild and graceless Cavaliers, though a certain minority—including Sir Henry de Vic, the Androses of Sausmarez, Jacques Guille of St. George, and Peter Priaulx of Le Comte—remained loyal to the Crown. Also, as Dr. Latham points out,² personal influence in both islands

¹ *Chronicles of Castle Cornet*, by F. B. Tupper, p. 45.

² *Channel Islands*, 1st ed. p. 393.

The Channel Islands

had much to do with the matter ; the de Carterets imposed Royalist feelings on Jersey, "the Parliamentary feeling of the Guernseymen seems to have been determined by the Careys, de Beauvoirs, and similar influential families."

In 1643 an order came from the Parliamentary Commissioners to the island authorities bidding them apprehend Sir Peter Osborne the Lieutenant-Governor, seize all the fortresses in Guernsey and the Bailiwick, and hold the island for the Parliament. Thereupon Sir Peter retired to his official residence of Castle Cornet—which in those days was an island and inaccessible from the town except at the very lowest tides—and, with Mr. Amias Andros and a small handful of troops, entrenched himself against the foe, and on March 11th, 1643, the siege of Castle Cornet began.

Peter de Beauvoir, Seigneur des Granges, Peter Carey,¹ and James de Havilland were at this date appointed Parliamentary Commissioners for Guernsey, and on October 21st they were fraudulently induced by a Royalist emissary called Bowden to go on board his ship—*The George*—on the pretext of there dis-

¹ Peter de Beauvoir and Peter Carey were first cousins, being sons respectively of Judith and Marie Germain, and through their common grandmother—Anne le Moyne, wife of Gilles Germain—descended from Breton refugees. Peter Carey was, moreover, paternally descended from Jaquine Lefebvre, the daughter of an exiled Seigneur of Vitré. Peter de Beauvoir married, as his first wife, his cousin, Jeanne le Moyne. The Huguenot connection doubtless had great influence in these two cases.

Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

cussing affairs of the highest importance. No sooner had they set foot on the vessel than they found themselves prisoners, and Bowden delivered them into the hands of Sir Peter Osborne, who incarcerated them "in one of the deepest dungeons under the lower ditch ; a place so subterranean and humid that our hair became wet, and from thence we were unable to see light but through the keyhole."¹

After some weeks of misery the prisoners were moved into an upper dungeon which had a window, and there they began to cut a hole through the floor with their knives, and so were enabled, by means of a hook they had secured, to obtain some old cotton match in the room beneath. This cotton they twisted into three ropes, and by this means, on Sunday, December 3rd, they lowered themselves through the window and down the walls on to the rocks beneath. They ran along the western beach, it being low water at the time, without attracting notice ; and although they were seen and fired upon the moment they left the cover of the walls and made for the town, they ultimately succeeded in reaching the steps of the South Pier unhurt. The news being carried to the Town Church, where service was proceeding, the whole congregation rushed out to welcome them, and the bells rang out the tidings of their deliverance. It was discovered afterwards that had the prisoners postponed their escape for half an hour they would assuredly have been hanged, as an order to that effect had just

¹ *Peter Carey's Diary.*

The Channel Islands

arrived from the King. The English Parliamentary chronicle entitled *God's Arke Overtopping the World's Waves* contained in January, 1644, an account of this event, and described how "Mounsieur le Grange, Mounsieur Carey, and Mounsieur Haverly, three faithfull and fast friends to the Parliament," had been treacherously betrayed into the hands of "that perfidious viper of his native countrey, Sir Peter Osborn"; and gave the manner of their escape and their joyous reception at the hands of the Guernsey people, "they being three of the most prudent and pious protectors of the welfare of that island."

As we have already seen, the little garrison of Castle Cornet still continued to make a gallant resistance. Sir Peter Osborne was replaced by Sir Baldwin Wake, Sir Baldwin by Colonel Burgess; but each commander and his men equally remained loyal to their trust, although by this time the King's party had been weakened and worsted, and the King himself captured, imprisoned, and put to death. The supplies with which Sir George Carteret and the Royalist party in Jersey endeavoured to succour them, were frequently cut off by hostile vessels. Often and often the garrison were in a state of semi-starvation, being generally limited to one meal a day, eked out with limpets and hake which they caught off the rocks, and which, for lack of oil or lard, they were fain to fry in the tallow used for greasing the cannons. And while they were enduring these privations they were forced to be constantly on the alert, for at all states of the tide,

THE TWELVE O'CLOCK GUN, CASTLE CORNET, GUERNSEY



Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

and both by night and day, Parliamentary men-of-war and island enemies attempted to take the castle **UNAWARES.**

The state of the townspeople must equally have been one of great misery, continually exposed as they were to the fire of the castle's cannon, from which Pierre le Roy¹ tells us more than thirty thousand shots had been fired into the town; and de la Marche, another contemporary diarist, after referring to a storm which had destroyed a large portion of the harbour, goes on to tell how Sir Peter Osborne with his great guns had made a much greater breach in St. Peter-Port than that which the storm had made in the pier. In those days the houses of almost all the gentlefolk of the island were situated in St. Peter-Port, which was still surrounded by its old walls pierced by their various gates, and flanked on the south by the Tour de Beauregard and on the north by the Tour Gand. This northern end of the town being especially exposed to the guns of Castle Cornet, the Court removed from the Plaiderie to Elizabeth College, then on a lower and less prominent site than it occupies at present.

When the siege of Castle Cornet had lasted for eight years and nine months, Cromwell, exasperated at this protracted resistance, despatched a strong force under Admiral Blake to subdue it as well as the equally

¹ Pierre le Roy was a Guernsey schoolmaster in the days of the Stuarts. His notebook still survives and was edited and translated by the Rev. G. E. Lee, M.A., F.S.A., for the Guernsey Historical and Antiquarian Society in 1893.

The Channel Islands

contumacious island of Jersey. After the surrender of Elizabeth Castle, Castle Cornet was surrounded, and the garrison, being reduced to great straits, were at last obliged to capitulate. They had gained, however, the proud distinction of being the last fortress in the British Islands to yield to the authority of the Parliament. On December 19th, 1651, Colonel Burgess and his valiant company left their prison walls, having received permission to march forth with "their arms and all their wearing apparel of whatsoever kind, drums beating, ensigns displayed, bullet in mouth, and match lighted at both ends, into the island of Guernsey, there to lay down all their arms, their swords, and those they shall be permitted to enjoy, and take away," and with an indemnity of £1500 sterling.¹

The assistance the Jersey people had rendered to Guernsey's enemies naturally embittered the feeling between the two islands, and we find in a note by Pierre le Roy² that some soldiers in the island "went to the assistance of the Parliamentarians who were occupied in reducing Jersey." Among them was "a Guernseyman called Nicholas Robert, ensign of St. Martin's, who took the Crown of King Charles, which they had set and planted on the cupola of the Court House, a high and conspicuous spot, whither the said ensign climbed without a ladder, and took

¹ Articles of Capitulation for the surrender of Castle Cornet: *Chronicles*, p. 319.

² *Notebook*, p. 13.

Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

the Crown down and brought it to this island, and delivered it to the Governor of Castle Cornet, and afterwards it was sent to London to the Parliament."

Charles II. after his Restoration seems to have treated his quondam foes with great magnanimity, and ordered a general pardon, from which, however, five persons were declared exempt—namely, Sir Henry de Vic,¹ knight and baronet, Messrs. Amias, Edmund, and Charles Andros, and Mr. Nathaniel Darell,² who,

¹ A scion of a very old Guernsey family, members of which had been rectors of island livings or jurats of the Royal Court from the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Sir Henry was a son of John de Vic, the King's Procureur, and Elizabeth Pageot, a Guernsey-woman. All English biographers of de Vic, including Burke (*Extinct Baronetcies*), le Neve, and the Westminster Abbey Registers, state that "Sir Henry's mother appears to have been Rachel, eldest daughter of Sir Philip Carteret (*sic*), and that he married his cousin Margaret"; but this statement is entirely without foundation: the St. Peter-Port Registers prove that he was the son of his father's second wife Elizabeth Pageot, and was baptised on November 23rd, 1597. Her relations settled in England and acquired wealth, their name being anglicised to Paget, and it is supposed that it was due to their influence that Sir Henry owed his advancement in life. He became French Secretary to Charles I. in 1635, was knighted in 1641 while British Resident at Brussels, and shared in the exile of Charles II., who created him a baronet in 1649. He was subsequently Comptroller of the Household to the Duke of York, and Chancellor of the Order of the Garter, he and Sir William Cecil (in the reign of Edward VI.) being the only two laymen who have ever filled that honourable station. He married Margaret de Carteret, daughter of the Sir Philip de Carteret mentioned in a previous chapter as being Prynne's gaoler in Mont Orgueil; and his daughter, Lady Frescheville—noted, according to Pepys, for her dancing—was a lady-in-waiting to Queen Anne. Sir Henry died in 1671, and was buried in Westminster Abbey.

² Nathaniel Darell, a Captain in the Army, and Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, married an Islander, Anne de Beauvoir, widow of

The Channel Islands

having continued inviolably faithful to his Majesty, had no need to be included.

On the death of the first Lord Hatton in 1670, his son succeeded him in the government of Guernsey as well as in the title, and took up his residence—as every previous Governor had done—at Castle Cornet, his house being situated just below the old tower which formerly surmounted the Castle. He had resided there for two years when on December 31st, 1672, a dreadful calamity befell him, of which a contemporary account is preserved by his descendants.¹

In his youth the “wise woman of Rockingham” had given him the following warning :

“Kit Hatton ! Kit Hatton ! I rede ye beware
Of the flash from the cloud, and the flight through the air !
When the Star of thy destiny looms in the sky,
To others unclouded, but red to thine eye,
Though men see no signs in the threatening air—
Kit Hatton ! Kit Hatton ! I rede ye beware !”

The family manuscript relates that on this December night Lord Hatton being with Ensign Covett, the latter said, “‘Pray observe that starr,’ and his lordship looking earnestly at it said—‘It looks very angry ;

Thomas le Marchant, and sister of the Peter de Beauvoir who was imprisoned with Peter Carey and James de Havilland in Castle Cornet.

¹ This account is given in an article in *Blackwood's Magazine* for 1873 (pp. 476 *et seq.*) written by Lord Winchilsea, one of the descendants of the hero of this tragedy, and taken from the original deposition of James Chapple, an eye-witness of the event.

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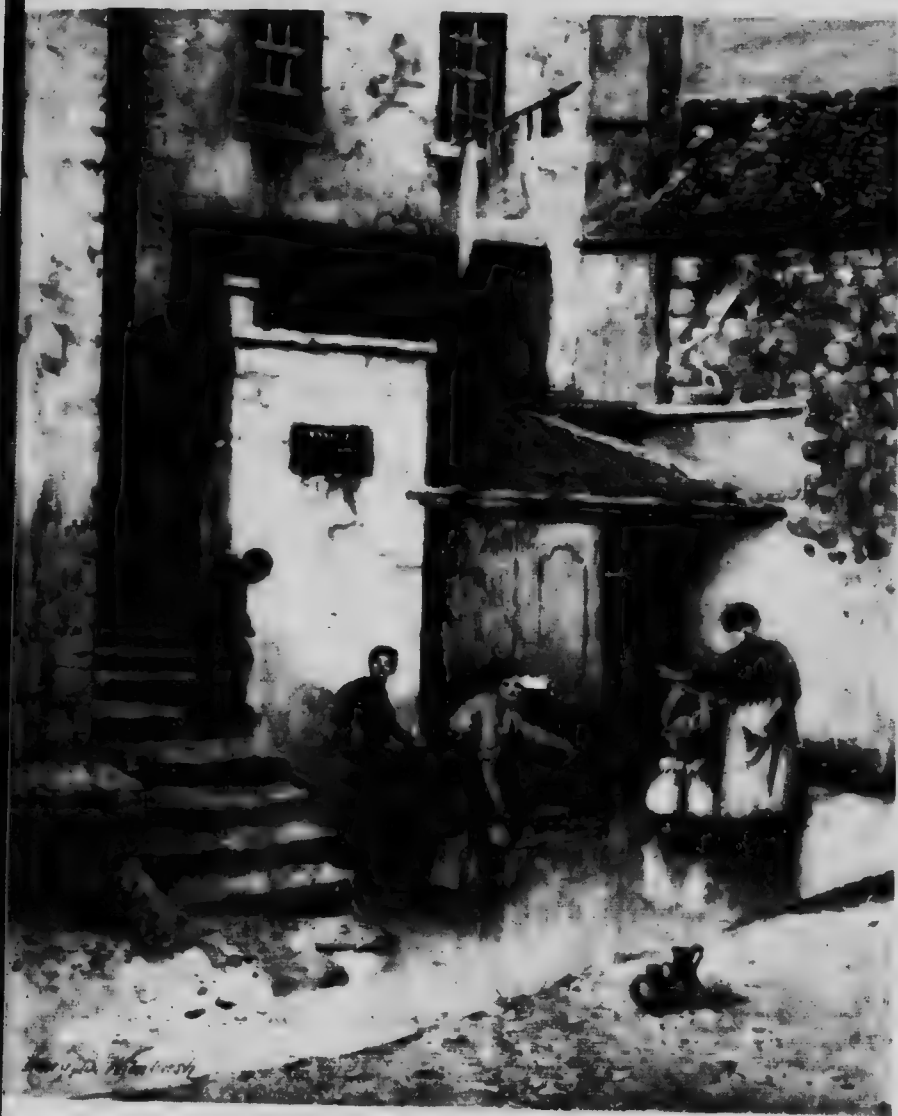
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CORNET STREET, GUERNSEY



Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

I wish we have not some foul weather,'—but to this informant's judgment he never saw a clearer skye." And at one o'clock next morning, which was New Year's Day, Chapple was awakened by a fellow-servant who told him "'he did believe the house was falling,'" and when they got out, he "heard his lord's voice calling for help," and found Lord Hatton on the castle wall "with the mattress and feather-bed under him, and the bed-clothes over him"; and carried his lordship into the guard-room, and went down into the castle, "to see for his Lordship's lady, mother, and sisters, and then found that the castle was blown up, and the dowager lady dead in her bed, being posted on the head with a great stone." And in the next apartment his two sisters were both alive in bed, "but almost suffocated with a beam of the house fallen betwixt them." On digging among the ruins they successfully extricated Miss Anne Hatton,¹ then three years old; in another bed they found one of the nurses dead, with Miss Margaret Hatton, a child of eighteen months old, "in her arms, playing with a little silver cup in its hand," and the baby of three weeks old, Elizabeth Hatton, alive in its cradle. Then deeper in the ruins were found two or three women-servants alive, and the others dead, and "at last, on digging, they found the Lady Hatton, who was on her knees, with a wrapping-gown on, and her woman with her in the same posture, but they were both dead."

¹ Afterwards Countess of Nottingham.

The Channel Islands

And Chapple heard his lordship declare : " That soon after he was in bed, he heard it thunder as at a distance, that it still came nearer and nearer, the wind growing high, and some hail beat against the windows pretty hard ; and at last he felt the bed whereon he lay move, and immediately a prodigious burst, and at the same time found himself in the open air ; . . . but did not apprehend that his bed had been carryed out of the house, but only thought that he had fallen with it, but some very large flashes of lightning immediately following, he did, on raising himself up by the light thereof, perceive the sea on one side of him, and part of the castle wall on the other, and therefore kept calling out for help."

A manuscript quoted by Mr. Tupper¹ adds further details to this extraordinary story. A Sergeant Cotton was blown in his bed over a high wall, and when he recovered consciousness he proceeded, naked and shivering, to the south point, where he was seen by the sentinel, who challenged him, though thinking that he was a ghost. " Nevertheless, standing upon his punctilios, [he] made the Ghost to speak, who, knowing him by his voice, settled his spirits, and so the Sergeant did bid him come and help, at which saying the centinell was much surprised, having heard nothing of the blow, for the wind carried it away from him."

Seven people were killed in this disastrous occurrence, and several were wounded. The house from

¹ *History of Guernsey*, 2nd ed. p. 374.

Guernsey in the Days of the Stuarts

which Lord Hatton had been blown, was, with the exception of the doorposts, razed to the ground, and the old tower of the castle was also completely destroyed. The people of Guernsey were horror-stricken at the sad event, and the Royal Court deeming it an especial act of Divine vengeance, appointed the ensuing January 15th as a fast day.

From this period Castle Cornet ceased to be the residence either of the Governors or of political prisoners. Willingly or of necessity various interesting personages had in the preceding century inhabited it. Among them were Lucy St. John, the wife of Sir Allen Apsley and mother of the Mrs. Hutchinson who wrote the well-known memoirs of Colonel Hutchinson her husband; Dorothy Osborne, daughter of Sir Peter, and afterwards wife of Sir William Temple; the chaplains Cartwright and Bradshaw; Burton, the Puritan divine, Prynne's colleague and fellow-sufferer, who was sent to Castle Cornet while the latter was sent to Mont Orgueil; and General Lambert. This officer so distinguished himself in the Civil Wars that, according to the Clarendon State Papers,¹ the first Lord Hatton wrote to Lord Chancellor Hyde suggesting that Charles II. should secure his services by offering to marry his daughter. Lord Hatton little thought that the lady he was thus recommending was destined to be his own daughter-in-law. But in 1661 Lambert, disgraced and a prisoner, was exiled to Castle Cornet, bringing his two daughters, Frances

¹ Quoted in Tupper's History, p. 353.

The Channel Islands

and Mary, with him ; and while they were immured in the grim old fortress, Lord Hatton's second son, Charles, lost his heart to Mary Lambert, and, with the connivance of three of the Islanders, clandestinely married her. Upon this his father—who had previously written of her to Clarendon as “pretty, of an extraordinary sweetness of disposition, and very virtuously and ingenuously disposed”—wrote to the King:¹ “Your Petitioner is not ignorant that attempts have been made to suggest his misfortunes as faults in the case of his sonn's marriage with a prisoner's daughter there, and though he is confident your Majesty will not lay that as a crime to your Petitioner, yett he craves leave to say his consent could not be reasonably inferred,—being to a person whose Father was attainted and who had no portion. . . . And no sooner did your Petitioner know of that match was a yeare or more after the pretended marriage, but he turned his sonn out of doores, and hath never since given him a penny.”

As soon as James II. came to the throne he attempted to introduce Roman Catholicism into Guernsey by installing a Popish Governor and garrison and instituting a public celebration of the Mass. This tampering with their cherished convictions naturally excited the indignation of the Islanders, and they consequently welcomed the accession of the Protestant William III. to the throne of England, and his reign inaugurated an era of prosperity to the island.

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vol. iv. p. 91.

LION ROCK, COBO, GUERNSEY



CHAPTER XI
PRIVATEERING AND SMUGGLING

The spirits of your fathers
Shall start from every wave!
For the deck it was their field of fame,
And ocean was their grave.

—CAMPBELL.

CHAPTER XI

PRIVATEERING AND SMUGGLING

THE commercial history of the Islands may roughly be divided into five periods. The first of these was the fishing period, when the majority of the Islanders were seamen, and salted and dried their congers at their seigneurs' *esperqueries*. They then supplied these fish to the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts of France and England; for in those days, when the Romish Church imposed continual fasts, fish formed the staple article of diet. The second was the knitting period, when wool was their chief import, and stockings, "guernseys," and "jerseys"—"wherein," as Dr. Heylyn says, "the inhabitants are exceeding cunning"—their chief export. This period began at the proclamation of neutrality in the fifteenth century and lasted till about the middle of the seventeenth century. The third was the privateering period, which was marked by great activity in shipbuilding and the opening up of the trade with Newfoundland. This was the time of the greatest increase in wealth, and may be said to have lasted from the middle of the seventeenth century to

The Channel Islands

Waterloo. The fourth was the smuggling period, which was concurrent with the end of the third period, and practically lasted until the repeal of high duties in England rendered the business no longer profitable. The fifth is the present period of commerce and agriculture—of the exportation of granite and farm and greenhouse produce—and dates from the time when the regular service of steamboats gave quick communication with populous centres.

It is with the third and fourth periods, and particularly in their relation to Guernsey, that this chapter has to do.

There is nowadays a good deal of misapprehension as to what privateering really was. Most people regard it as simply another word for piracy; but undoubtedly in olden times, under the authorisation of proper letters of marque and subject to perfectly definite rules, it was held to be quite a justifiable and honourable occupation, and its votaries—instead of being the rollicking buccaneers of popular fancy with pistols and cutlasses protruding from the belts fastened round their waists, with red handkerchiefs tied round their heads, and with the prospect of a rope at the yard-arm of some virtuous man-of-war or a watery grave from the end of a plank as their ultimate fate—were generally honest, hard-working, brave men, who fought for their masters and their country, and were perfectly legitimate and fully recognised belligerents. The essential characteristic of privateers was that they should be regularly commissioned by a

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MOULIN HUET, GUERNSEY



Privateering and Smuggling

responsible Government, although they were owned and manned by private individuals; and in the wars of past centuries, when the naval forces of great Powers were far weaker than they are now, these ships reinforced the fleet of their country and undertook duties which the king's ships were not numerous enough to perform.

A Letter of Marque was engrossed on a large sheet of parchment, headed by an elaborate piece of scroll work, containing a portrait of the Sovereign, together with the Royal Arms and various symbolical figures. Appended was the Great Seal of the High Court of Admiralty of England. Each Letter, after minutely describing the ship for which it was issued, its tonnage and armament, went on to say that "We do license and authorise [John Smith] to set forth in a warlike manner the said ship [*Arethusa*] under his own command, and therewith by force of Arms to apprehend, seize, and take the ships, vessels, and goods belonging to the King [of whatever country England was then at war with] or his subjects . . . and to bring the same to such Port as shall be most convenient, in order to have them legally adjudged in Our said High Court of Admiralty . . . after which it may be lawful [for the said John Smith] to sell and dispose of such ships, goods," etc.

The captain was ordered to keep an "exact Journal of his Proceedings," and to get all the information he could respecting the enemy's forces, and report it to the Commissioners, and all allied states were requested

The Channel Islands

to give "all Aid, Assistance, and Succour in their Ports to the said captain, ship, company, and prizes, without doing or suffering to be done to him any wrong, trouble, or hindrance, We offering to do the like when We shall be thereunto desired. . . . In witness whereof We have caused this Great Seal of Our said Court to be hereunto affixed."

The captain of the vessel also entered into formal agreements with his crew. For example, the man who first saw a sail, or first boarded an enemy's ship, was to receive four guineas. After the captured ship and her cargo were sold, the money was divided into stipulated shares. One-fifth went to the King, who in 1698 had an accredited agent in the island, Mr. Robert Lee, to collect these dues;¹ of the remainder, two-thirds went to the owner of the vessel and one-third to the captain, officers, and crew according to seniority.²

Sir George Carteret's "pataches" had shown the Islanders how profitable a trade privateering could be, and they were not slow in taking example by his enterprise.

As early as 1667 we find Colonel Atkins, Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey, thus writing to Mr. Amias

¹ This appears from some *Actes des Etats* for 1698, which are being transcribed and edited for publication by the Rev. George Lee, M.A., F.S.A.

² Some of these Letters and agreements are printed in full in the article on Guernsey privateers and smugglers contributed by Mr. Linwood Pitts to the *Guernsey Sun* in 1892.

Privateering and Smuggling

Andros :¹ "I cannot omitt to relate how bravelie the men of St. Martyn's have behaved themselves at sea. They have brought in a prize of sixty tun, a flie boate belonging to Amsterdam, laden with wine, ptum,² figs, and rosin. . . . They likewise encountered with another at sea, of nyne or ten guns, with their two guns, of which they were fayne to borrow one of mee ; but received so much damage . . . and having ffive of their twenty-ffive men hurt, they were forced to leave her ; but manfully after this tooke the same. . . . I have given you this relation that you may see your countrymen will fight."

The treaty of Neutrality had by this time become virtually a dead letter, and it was finally abrogated in 1689 by William III. on the ground that it formed an easy mean for James II. to communicate with his partisans in England. No opposition was raised by the Islanders to this measure, as they had discovered that war was far more profitable to them than peace.

One of the most famous privateer captains known to local history was Captain John Tupper of the *Monmouth Galley*, a great-great-grandson of one Henry Tupper who fled from Hesse-Cassel in consequence of an edict issued by Charles V. against the Lutherans. In the Public Record Office³ is an order issued to the Treasurer of the Navy and dated October 22nd,

¹ Tupper's *History*, p. 368.

² *P'tum* for Petun, an old French and American word derived from *Petunam*, for tobacco. It is still used in Sark.

³ Lords' Letter-Book, 1694-5, vol. vii.

The Channel Islands

1694, "for the sum of Fifty Pounds . . . to provide a Medall and chaine of that value, for Captain John Tupper, Commander of a Privateer called the *Monmouth Galle* of Guernsey, as a reward to him for his good service in destroying some French privateers."

The following quotations from contemporary letters¹ preserved in the Admiralty Records give some slight idea of the work performed by the privateersmen of that epoch. The first is from this very Captain Tupper, then in command of the privateer the *Swallow*, dated Guernsey, August 26th, 1693. "This is duly to advise you that after many attempts at sea I returned cruising out of this port on the 16th inst, the 17th and 18th following, being under Cape Frenely nere St. Maloes we mett with Eight great ships coming from thence. Three of them bore upon us, but perceiving they could have noe advantage they immediately joyned their squadron and bore to the West North West, soe being divided wee kept our course upon the coast, soe nere that we could easily see Thirteen very great ships wth many other small ones in St. Malloes Roade. The 19th following I took a small fishing boate in the Road of Granville, which after examinacon of the men I sett at liberty consider^s their great necessity and weakness, they informed me that the French Soldiers w^{ch} were upon the coast were gone towards Rochel and nothing else worth your advice. The Sunday following

¹ Printed in full in *The Clan*, edited by Colonel John Glas Sandeman, vol. ii. (1897), pp. 147-8.

WISHING WELL, FOREST PARISH, GUERNSEY



Privateering and Smuggling

I mett with three French Copers, giving chase to Captain Major of Jersey and Captⁿ Stevens¹ of this Island, Privat^r, and being cleare of them, the same day about four of the clock in the afternoon we mett with an English vessel coming from Boston in New England, bound for London, w^{ch} had been taken by the French nere Cape Clere upon the coast of Ireland the Thursday before, w^{ch} s^d vessel Captⁿ Stevens and I after a short dispute boarded her and brought her the day following into this Port. She is about ninety tons, her first voyage, laden with Sugur, Molasses, Fish, Oyle, Beav^r Skins, and Logg and Brazell wood, Cotton, Wool, supposed to be worth 3,000*l*."

Tupper's coadjutor, Captain Stevens, commander of the *Guernsey*, in a letter dated Guernsey, August 24th, 1692, gives further particulars of this "short dispute": "The next day being Sunday . . . I spied four ships going along shore and I made after them, so comeing almost within gunshot of them, Two of them being French Privateers, one of Eight guns and the other of Ten, they tacked after me so I was forced to run from them, and stood towards Captⁿ

¹ Captain Stevens was a member of the old Guernsey family of *Estienne*, and this is a curious instance of how local names became anglicised. His son, in some old letters which are still extant, was called indifferently *Stevens* or *Estienne*, according to the language the letter was written in. Many other Channel Islands names suffered similar changes when their owners were brought into contact with English people. Thus, among other, the names of le Roy, la Cloche, le Moyne, Pageot, and Henry became *King*, *Bell*, *Monk*, *Paget*, and *Harris*.

The Channel Islands

John Major, a Privateer of Jersey, but he seeing that they gave me chase he made all the Saile he could from me, but some tyme after I spyed a saile at sea, whom I made to be Captⁿ Tupper of Guernsey. I made the signall to him and he answered me, then being certain it was him and that I knew he would stand by me I brought too to stay for the French Privateers, but they seeing there was two of us that would stand one by the other they made the best of their way for St. Mallo's. . . . Now in the afternoon, Captⁿ Major being about a league and a half ahead of me, I spied another ship that was ahead of him, then immediately Captⁿ Tupper and I gave the said ship chase, and Captⁿ Major, supposing it was another French Privateer, gott his tacks on board and stood to the Northward, and Captⁿ Tupper and I being the best sailers I came within gunshott, they immediately put out English colours with the cross downwards, then I fired at him and he put down his colours and fired at me, soe continuing for a matter of an hour, then by that time I came along his side and fired a broadside and a volley of small shott and made him strike, then Captⁿ Tupper came up with us, and being consorts, we put some of his and my men aboard and brought her into this place."

From a list compiled by the late Dr. Hoskins¹ it appears that at the beginning of Queen Anne's reign, during the War of the Succession the largest Guernsey owner of privateers was Pierre Henry, who had

¹ MSS. at Candie Library.

Privateering and Smuggling

six ; that one of his captains, Pierre le Roux, was taken prisoner in an engagement ; and that £425 had to be paid for his ransom. Other owners were Elisha Dobrée of the *Nottingham*, John Tupper of the *Guernsey Galley*, and Peter Carey of the *Guernsey Frigate*.

During the Seven Years' War, which began in 1755, the number of Guernsey privateers greatly increased. One of the finest was the *Bellona*, and her fate is related in a quaint inscription on a monument in the parish church of St. Peter-Port : "Sacred to the memory of Captⁿ Nicholas le Messurier, Commander of the Private Ship of War the *Bellona* of twenty guns, belonging to this Island, Who being on a Cruise, in the night of the twelfth of February 1759, fell in with a large French East India ship, and in the morning by dawn of day gallantly attack'd, and engaged her, but about an hour after was unfortunately slain. The Privateer being greatly shatter'd in her Masts and Rigging, having several shot betwixt wind and water, and many Men kill'd and wounded, was obliged to sheer off, after having greatly shatter'd the Enemy. He was a Native of this Island. Born the 16th of May, in the year 1731, and always behav'd like a brave and diligent Officer ; to whose memory the Owners of the Privateer have erected this Monument out of Gratitude for his good Services."

The *Resolution*, belonging to two brothers of the name of le Mesurier, with a crew of one hundred men and carrying twenty guns, in 1779 captured

The Channel Islands

three prizes worth £134,589. In the same year, John Tupper, junior, with his cutter, the *Hector*, and two brigs, the *Lord Amherst* and the *Triumph*, each manned with sixteen guns and carrying crews of sixty-five men, captured eight prizes, to the value of £59,374. And in 1782, John le Mesurier, Governor of Alderney, owned eight privateers carrying from four to twenty guns, which brought him prize money to the value of £212,381.

Naturally, when such golden results might be expected, the fitting out of privateers went on rapidly. It was a sort of gambling speculation and one of a most exciting nature, for the vessel might be captured within twenty-four hours of leaving port, or she might send home a dozen valuable prizes in a cruise of as many days. In the year 1800, it was calculated that the money brought into the island by the captures of French and American vessels amounted to nearly a million pounds sterling. In that one year, thirty-five more ships carrying 250 guns and 1,716 men were fitted out in the island, principally by members of the Priaulx, Dobrée, le Mesurier, and le Cocq families, and the value of their captures amounted to very nearly another million pounds. The Governor of Cherbourg wrote to Paris that the two islands, Jersey and Guernsey, were the despair of France at the breaking out of each war, that the habit of encountering the dangers of the sea rendered the natives very brave, and that though they were good neighbours during peace, and closely united by the

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PETIT BOT BAY, GUERNSEY



Spring 1911

Privateering and Smuggling

contraband trade which enriched them as well as the inhabitants of the neighbouring coasts of Brittany and Normandy, they became formidable enemies when war was declared. So formidable, indeed, was their enmity, and so valuable the assistance which they rendered to England, that Burke declared in Parliament that they were almost entitled to be called "one of the naval powers of the world." It was not until the Declaration of Paris, April 16th, 1856, that the countries of Europe formally agreed that "Privateering is and remains abolished."

At the same time that the island of Guernsey was reaping so rich a harvest through its privateers, many of its inhabitants were also engaged in the less laudable but hardly less lucrative occupation of smuggling. The Custom House dues in those days were enormous. In 1660, no fewer than 1,630 articles were taxed in England, and as late as 1797 some twelve hundred articles were taxed, including almost every necessary of life. The inhabitants of the Channel Islands, like all the population of the South Coast of England, had come to regard the defrauding of the revenue as a perfectly justifiable method of asserting their natural right to buy their goods in the cheapest market. They considered the enforcement of the laws against smuggling to be an encroachment on their ancient rights and privileges, and claimed total exemption from the excise laws and Customs regulations of Great Britain. As early as 1709 the States of Guernsey obtained an

The Channel Islands

Order in Council revoking the permission which had been granted to the Custom House authorities to establish themselves in the island; and in 1717, 1720, and 1722 they refused to allow any kind of *Douane* to be instituted. In 1767, however, the English Government insisted on establishing a Custom House, and sent over a Mr. James Major in an armed cruiser to see that their orders were duly carried out. But this action aroused a chorus of protest, led by Mr. William le Marchant, one of the jurats, who issued a pamphlet on the subject called *The Rights and Immunities of the Island of Guernsey*; and virtually matters went on pretty much as before.

Mr. Shore¹ tells us that "the chief *entrepôts* for the smuggling trade with England during the greater part of last century and the early years of the present one was at the Channel Islands; and of this very lucrative business Guernsey monopolised by far the larger share. . . . Owing to certain climatic conditions this island had become a favourite place with the merchants of Bordeaux and elsewhere for the storage of wines, which here developed certain qualities of excellence unattainable elsewhere, and this led to the construction of the enormous cellars which were subsequently utilised for the storage of spirits." So great was this deposit of spirits, that one family was reported to have amassed a fortune of £300,000 by the manufacture of casks alone. As Mr. Gallienne says

¹ *Smuggling Days and Smuggling Ways*, by Lieut. the Hon. H. N. Shore, R.N. (1892), pp. 84 and 89.

Privateering and Smuggling

in his "Reminiscences,"¹ "our stores along the quay, in Truchot Street, in Bordage and Park Street, in fact all over the town, were overflowing with casks of wine and of spirits; the shipping from Spain and France filled our little harbour. From England came tight sea boats with ample crews of hardy men who called themselves 'free traders.' Guernsey people made no inquiries, they sold honest merchandise at honest prices: what came of it was none of their business. And so cooeping went on briskly; small handy casks that one man could carry were in great request, and there was no return of empties."

In the last quarter of 1800, the Bailiff and two of the jurats owned to having exported 3,325 pipes and 983 hogsheads of brandy and wine, and Mr. Tupper tells us² that it was no uncommon occurrence for a merchant of Rotterdam to receive an order from Guernsey for one thousand pipes of gin.

In 1807 the Islands were definitely included in the English Smuggling Acts, and a large share of the old trade was then transferred to Roscoff, a small village on the coast of Brittany within a few hours' sail of Guernsey. The majority of the Islanders, seeing that further remonstrance was useless, established a Chamber of Commerce, the condition of membership being a promise to discontinue all illicit traffic. Yet a certain percentage of the lower classes of the people still continued to smuggle, though far more

¹ *Guernsey Star*, January 24th, 1901.

² *History*, p. 502, n.

The Channel Islands

clandestinely than before. Tobacco, in many cases, took the place of spirits, and many secret hiding-places and *caches* are still to be found under the cliffs and in the old farmhouses in the vicinity of the sea-coast; and undoubtedly many of the still current legends of ghostly processions and funeral *cortéges* were started by these smugglers in order to distract attention from their gangs as they passed at midnight in single file along narrow lanes, with their kegs upon their shoulders, to some appointed rendezvous.

Victor Hugo¹ has well expressed the feelings with which nowadays we look back upon "*ces vieux marins furtifs et farouches, naviguant jadis, en des chaloupes sans boussole, sur les vagues noires lividement éclairées de loin en loin, de promontoire en promontoire, par ces antiques brasiers à frissons de flammes, que tourmentaient dans des cages de fer les immenses vents des profondeurs.*"

Thanks to privateering and smuggling, and to such trades as shipbuilding and coopering, which they so largely developed, some families found themselves raised in the course of a few years from the lowest depths of poverty to absolute wealth; and this naturally led to a great disorganisation of the social life of the community.

In January 1780 twenty members of the old island aristocracy had bought a site in the market-

¹ *L'Archipel de la Manche*, p. 88.

BERTHELOT STREET, ST. PETER-PORT, GUERNSEY



Privateering and Smuggling

place for the erection of "Assembly Rooms," where they and their friends could hold balls and parties, which had before been held in rooms in the Pollet. These Assembly Rooms cost £2,300 and constituted a local "Almack's." A stringent code of rules was issued, some of which sound rather odd to modern ideas. For instance, (1) "The Assemblies to open at seven, and to close at half-past eleven." (4) "Ladies sitting down during a dance, to stand at the bottom during the remainder of the evening." (7) "No native inhabitant, whose parents have not previously subscribed, to be admitted, unless proposed by the Master of the Ceremonies, and approved of by two-thirds of the ladies and gentlemen subscribers present. None but native inhabitants entitled to vote." (8) "It is to be observed by every native inhabitant, proposed to become a subscriber to these rooms, that his name shall be publicly mentioned to the Master of Ceremonies, and by him to the native subscribers, a fortnight, at least, before the meeting."

It was these two latter rules that created the social conflicts which agitated Guernsey in the early decades of the nineteenth century. The original subscribers, with their families, and with the naval and military officers quartered in the island, numbered about sixty people; and they alone were entitled to the enjoyment of the rooms. But in the course of the next thirty years many young men and girls grew up, whose fathers, though *nouveaux riches* and not in

The Channel Islands

a position to have been original subscribers to the rooms, had yet amassed sufficient wealth to give their children good educations and keep them at home, and it was in this way that the difficulty began. These young people, of course, wished to enjoy themselves at the "Assemblies," but they had to be elected first, and when, time after time, admittance was denied them, naturally a very bitter feeling was engendered. Excluded from the balls of "the Sixties," the name of "the Forties" was applied to them, and thus arose the factions of two generations ago, whose mutual hatred was as great as that of the *Roses* and *Laurels* of Jersey, and none the less that the feelings which inspired it were entirely social, and not, as in the sister island, in any sense political.

Nowadays these distinctions are virtually ignored, and the whirligig of time has brought in his revenges. For the old Assembly Rooms, whose portals were once so jealously guarded, were sold some years ago to Messrs. Guille and Allès for the library with which they munificently endowed their native island and are therefore open to every subscriber, though probably but few of those who sit there reading magazines or newspapers think of the

dear dead cotillions,
Danced out in tumult long before you came.

CHAPTER XII
THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

Granit au sud, sable au nord ; ici des escarpements, là des dunes ;
un plan incliné de prairies avec les ondulations de collines et des
reliefs de roches ; pour frange à ce tapis vert froncé de plis, l'écume
de l'océan.—VICTOR HUGO.

CHAPTER XII

THE ISLAND OF GUERNSEY

ONE of the most beautiful sights in the whole Channel Archipelago is the view as you enter Guernsey harbour on a brilliant summer morning. To the north stands on a slight eminence the old Vale Castle, guardian of the busy little port of St. Sampson. Sombre Castle Cornet, which seems to bar all approach, lies opposite the town, and in the quiet pool is gathered every variety of shipping—white yachts, black barges, cinnamon-sailed fishing boats, silhouetted against the tall irregular houses which line the quay. The town of St. Peter-Port is built on the slope of a hill, with tier upon tier of tall red-roofed houses clustering down to the water's edge. It is protected on the southern side by the green height on which Fort George is situated, and behind that again the rocky promontory of Jerbourg, beyond which, when veiled in the morning mists that make sea and sky seem one, the horizon melts away into a golden haze woven of cloud and sunshine.

The town retains a certain amount of its former picturesqueness, though many of its old landmarks

The Channel Islands

have been swept away. Built on the side of a hill, it is traversed by a curious succession of long stairways, with cross lanes meeting at the "carrefours," leading up to other and still quainter and narrower steps, and to dark arched alleys. The whole town has a foreign appearance—"Caudebec sur les épaules de Honfleur," as Vacquerie describes it.

Its most interesting building is the parish church, a Norman cruciform edifice, which has been called the Cathedral of the Channel Islands. The popular notion is that it was consecrated in 1312, but this is derived from a spurious document called the *Dédicace des Eglises*, which, though accepted by Guernsey's early historians, has been proved by modern savants to be a forgery from beginning to end. The church was in existence in 1048, but no vestige of the original building now remains. It is supposed that the oldest part of the present structure dates from the twelfth century, and it was added to in the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, probably after being partially demolished by foreign invaders. It contains among its ecclesiastical plate an almost unique altar cruet, dating from the early part of the sixteenth century.

St. Peter-Port is fortunate in possessing two splendid libraries—the Guille-Allès, founded and endowed by two patriotic Guernseymen, Messrs. Thomas Guille and Frederick Allès; and Candie, formed and bequeathed to his native island by that eminent bibliophile, Mr. Osmond de Beauvoir Priaulx.

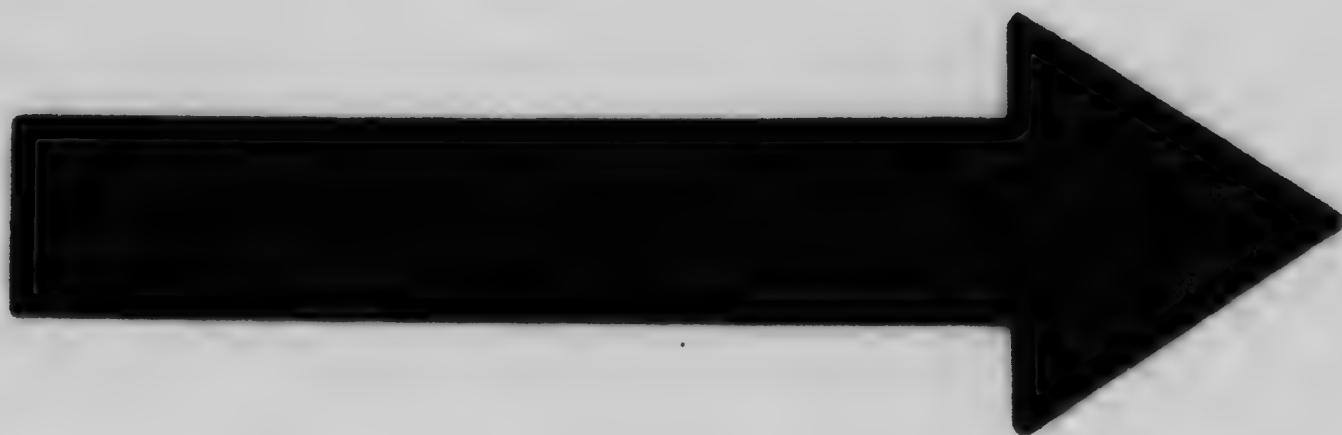
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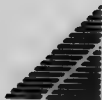
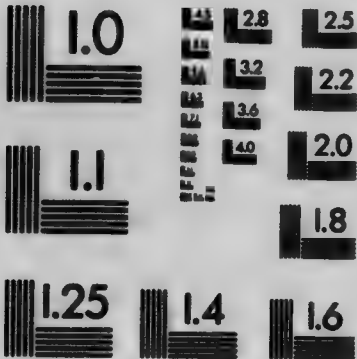
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ST. PETER-PORT FROM THE WHITE ROCK, GUERNSEY



The Island of Guernsey

quite ruined by the miles of greenhouses and the ugly little workmen's cottages which have been built all over it. The old flower-clad hedges have been destroyed, and almost every tree cut down. Indeed, except for the grounds of a few gentlemen's houses—such as Saumarez Park, Sausmarez Manor, the Haye du Puits, St. George, and Le Vallon—Guernsey is practically treeless, and only here and there does some deep fern-clad well, or a forgotten lane, "with ivy canopied, and interwove with flaunting honeysuckle," recall the former beauty of this once lovely island. The shores fortunately are beyond the power of man to spoil, and all the southern coast from Jerbourg Point to Pleinmont—with its magnificent rocky headlands and its storm-stained ravines surmounted by flower-clad cliffs, and intersected with small green valleys undulating "as if God's finger touched but did not press"—is indescribably beautiful. Moulin Huet Bay is perhaps the most lovely spot in the Islands, partially hemmed in as it is with a chain of wonderful rocks, one of which has been christened "Andrelot" by the country people. To them this strange rock-figure personifies the guardian spirit of the bay, and "le petit bonhomme" still has every boat's ensign dipped in his honour and a small oblation flung to him "for luck" by the fishermen of St. Martin's parish as they sail past.

Like the other islands, Guernsey is full of interesting relics of the past, and among its people are still to be found legends of fairies and goblins and a firm belief

The Channel Islands

in the power of witchcraft. The old parish churches, in spite of having been greatly mutilated in various "restorations," are very picturesque, particularly that of St. Pierre-du-Bois, which is built on so great an incline that one has to walk up a visible ascent in approaching the east end. It is in this corner of the island, from St. Pierre-du-Bois to Hommet, that most of the old-world charm of Guernsey still lingers, and it is there that the people remain most primitive. Even for the unbeliever in magic and witchcraft what Hugo calls "*le mystère des heures noires*" clings to the wild western coasts of Rocquaine and Vazon, haunted as they are to every credulous countryman by the fairies of the *Creux des Fées* and the witches of the *Catioroc*, where in former years his ancestors had whispered of Saturn and his "*Varous*" in their subterranean caverns.

The northern part of Guernsey, which is flat and sandy, was probably the portion first inhabited. The desolate moorland of L'Ancrese Common, now the resort of golfers, contains the finest cromlechs in the island; and the ruins of two old fortresses, Vale Castle and Ivy Castle, are situated in this neighbourhood.

On the north-eastern coast the ugly prosperous little town of St. Sampson, lying in the middle of stone quarries and greenhouses, can boast of a picturesque old church, to which belongs a most beautiful embossed chalice, which dates from about 1525. Over the reading desk hangs a tablet bearing the epitaph of a Lieutenant Thomas Falla who was killed at

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ST. SAMPSON'S CHURCH, GUERNSEY



The Island of Guernsey

the siege of Seringapatam in 1799. The inscription records that a cannon ball weighing 26 lb. lodged in one of his thighs, and so inflamed it that the ball was not discovered until his death six hours later, when it was extracted, to the surprise of the whole army. This almost incredible statement has been partially corroborated by a brother officer,¹ who wrote: "Among the casualties in my regiment was . . . poor Falla, from a cannon ball, a 12-pounder. . . . It rolled in and buried itself in poor Falla's groin. It was the most remarkable wound ever seen, and the general conversation of the army, for the shot was not to be seen, the flesh swelling completely over it."

The flat piece of land between St. Sampson's Harbour and the Vale Church called the Braye du Valle was formerly covered by the sea at high water, and was spanned by three bridges connecting the Clos du Valle—the part of the Vale parish beyond the Braye—with the rest of the island. This area, comprising eight hundred vergées of land, was wrested from the sea in 1808 by the energy and perseverance

Guernsey's most popular Governor, Sir John Doyle. A sum of £5,000 was obtained by the sale of the reclaimed land, and this was devoted to the making and improvement of roads.

Two mysterious stone figures still survive in the country. One forms the gatepost of St. Martin's

¹ *Memoirs of George Ellers, Captain 12th Regt. (1777—1842)*, p. 92.

The Channel Islands

churchyard; the other stands near the west door of the Castel Church, having been dug up from under the floor of the chancel while the church was being restored. They are blocks of granite, each of them a rude representation of the head and bust of a woman, and their origin and purpose are unknown. Sir Edgar MacCulloch conjectured¹ that they were formerly adored with the same rites as "La Vénus de Quinipilly" in Brittany, and that the churches built in their vicinity were erected on the sites of heathen altars. Lieutenant Oliver wrote² that they closely resembled some stone idols he had seen on the island of Momotombo in the Lake of Managua.

Guernsey, like Jersey (though to a less extent), has in the past been an asylum for many foreign refugees.

Among the Huguenot fugitives of Elizabeth's day was the Prince de Condé, who, with M. de la Trémouille, Clermont d'Amboys, and others, fled to the island—then governed by Sir Thomas Leighton—in 1585; from thence the Prince wrote to Lord Burleigh³ that he had "reçu très favorable traitement." The Prince and his party were in great distress, having been unsuccessful in their attempt to wrest Angers from the Catholics, and they were forced to remain in exile until one day they beheld the arrival of two ships fitted out with all they required. These ships had been sent from La Rochelle by Condé's young

¹ *Folkestone*, p. 133.

² *Ethnological Journal* for April 1870.

³ British Museum, Cotton MSS. Galba E. vj, fol. 285, b.

The Island of Guernsey

and heroic *fiancée*, Charlotte de la Trémouille. She was the daughter of the Duc de Thouars, one of Condé's most bitter foes, but in spite of being of the opposite party and of a different faith Condé had visited her home at Taillebourg, won the heart of its high-spirited, romantic, and beautiful châtelaine, and in spite of all obstacles they had become affianced. The Prince, through her instrumentality, was thus enabled to return to France, and in 1586 they were married, and the young Princess subsequently became a Protestant.

These Huguenots were succeeded by those who fled from the effects of the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes; of whom many, like the la Serres, de la Condamines, Durands, Métiviers, etc., married and settled in the island. Many French aristocrats also arrived during the Revolution, and in 1815 came Marshal Grouchy, masquerading as a Lyons merchant, under the name of Gautier. But Guernsey's most illustrious exile has been Victor Hugo. After his expulsion from Jersey in 1850, he arrived at St. Peter-Port and purchased Hauteville House, and "this eyrie was the homeless eagle's nest" until 1870. In 1878 he revisited it for a few months, and it still belongs to his descendants, and is the Mecca of many French pilgrims. Here were written much of his poetry and three of his best known novels, *Les Misérables*, *L'Homme qui Rit*, and *Les Travailleurs de la Mer*. The last-named book was dedicated "au rocher d'hospitalité et de liberté, à ce coin de vieille

The Channel Islands

terre Normande où vit le noble petit peuple de la mer à l'île de Guernesey, sévère et douce, mon asile actuel, mon tombeau probable." It purports to be "le poème en prose de l'archipel anglo-normand";¹ but in spite of its author's genius, its "local colour" is entirely incorrect, and *Lethierry*, *Clubin*, *Déruchette*, and *Gilliatt* are utterly impossible representatives of Channel Islanders of the early nineteenth century. The language which is put into their mouths is also quite unlike Guernsey French;² and the folklore, with which the book is elaborately full, bears no resemblance to any of the superstitions and beliefs that Guernsey-men have ever held.

The island has long been noted for the "Guernsey lily" (*Amaryllis sarniensis*), of which the origin is not definitely known. The tradition most generally received, and quoted by Dr. Morison,³ is that a Dutch vessel from Japan which had some bulbs on board was shipwrecked off the island, "and the bulbs being washed on shore took root in the sand, attracting notice as soon as they bloomed by their wonderful beauty." Lord Hatton was then Governor of that island for King Charles II. His second son "was by good luck a curious person and a great lover of flowers, and therefore he not only took care to transplant and cultivate this flower himself, but sent roots of it to a

¹ *La Maison de Victor Hugo*, by Gustave Larroumet (Paris, 1895), p. 19.

² Thus they are made to speak of a haunted house as a *maison visionnée* instead of a *maison hantée*.

³ *Plantarum Historica Oxoniensis*, Oxford, 1680.

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LA HAYE DU PUIITS, GUERNSEY



The Island of Guernsey

great many botanists and florists in England." This second son was the Charles Hatton we have already met with as having incurred his father's displeasure by clandestinely marrying Mary Lambert. He evidently inherited his love of flowers from his father, for in the Hatton MSS. in the British Museum¹ is a letter to Lord Hatton written in 1677 by his Guernsey agent, Colonel Francis Greene, and dated from "Truchott House" (which belonged to Advocate Peter Gosselin), whither Lord Hatton had repaired after the explosion in Castle Cornet. Greene writes that he is sending "the best of the Guernsey Rootes with 4 slipps of Paris gilliflowers, which I forward from Peter Guille, all the others I had from Mr. Isaac Carey, Blanchland's widdowe, and Tho : ffiott"; and he concludes by saying: "I shall by the next send you some more slipps of the rarest flowers ye Island affoards, Mr. Isaac Carey will be my man for them."

The Guernsey lily is a rose-coloured flower, scentless, and glittering, like a geranium, with gold dust. Country tradition says it was brought to the island by a fairy man who, having carried away a Guernsey girl to be his bride, left this flower as a memento:—"a strange, odourless, beautiful blossom, decked with fairy gold, and without a soul—for what is the scent but the soul of a flower?—a fit emblem of a denizen of fairyland."²

Hugo says that "la population de Guernesey composée d'hommes qui ont passé leur vie à faire .

¹ Add. MSS. 29555, f. 221.

² *Guernsey Folklore*, pp. 221-2.

The Channel Islands

tour de leur champ et d'hommes qui ont passé leur vie à faire le tour du monde." Among the latter are the many Guernsey soldiers and sailors who have risen to distinction in their professions. In addition to the eminent Guernseymen who have already been mentioned in these pages neither Major-General John Gaspard le Marchant founder of the Royal Military College, killed while charging at the head of his heavy cavalry brigade at Salamanca in July 1812, nor Sir Isaac Brock the "Hero of Upper Canada", mortally wounded at the Battle of Queenston three months later, ought to be forgotten. Of the latter it is recorded that Major-General Van Rensselaer, commanding his gallant American foes, in a letter of condolence to Major-General Sheaffe, wrote that immediately the funeral solemnities were over on the British side, the cannon of Fort Niagara would be fired "as a mark of respect due to a brave enemy."¹

Admiral Pellew, the first Lord Exmouth, was also connected with Guernsey. The first member of this family in the island was George Pellew, an Englishman who came over from Falmouth and in 1713 married Olimpe Naftel, a member of an old Guernsey country family, and in 1716 was made constable of the Town parish. The Admiral began his career as a Guernsey pilot, and through his courage and knowledge of his profession had rapid promotion. When he attained the rank of Captain in the Navy,

¹ *Life and Correspondence of Major-General Sir Isaac Brock*, by F. B. Tupper, p. 342.

The Island of Guernsey

he wrote to the States of Guernsey to ask what arms the Pellews were entitled to. The States knew of no Pellew arms, but replied that the name of Pellew must of course be the same as le Pelley (an old family of Guernsey gentlefolk), and that thus he was undoubtedly entitled to the le Pelley arms, "or, a chevron gules, on a chief of the second, three mascles of the field." These arms he used up to the time when he was given a special grant by the Heralds' College after the capture of Algiers; and according to Burke's *General Armoury*, some members of his family bear them to this day.

Guernsey officers and men fought at St. Vincent, the Nile, and Trafalgar; and the plains of Holland, Spain, Portugal, America, the East and West Indies, and in more recent times South Africa, have been reddened with their blood.

In the domains of literature, science, and art it is only possible here to mention Peter Paul Dobrée, Professor of Greek at Cambridge, and editor of Porson's posthumous *Aristophanica*; Dr. MacCulloch, the geologist; Doctors Lukis and Hoskins and Sir Edgar MacCulloch, archæologists and antiquaries, the last named also the foremost authority on local folklore; Ferdinand Brock Tupper, Guernsey's historian and biographer *par excellence*; Sir Peter le Page Renouf, the eminent Egyptologist; Paul Naftel, the water-colour painter; and finally George Métivier, poet and philologist, author of the *Dictionnaire Franco-Normand*, whose feelings for his native island are expressed in

The Channel Islands

the following lines written in the Guernsey dialect he loved so well:—

Pour tout chûnna¹ l'île est riche et belle,
Ghernerhula² mérite un p'tit luron;³
A ta santal! a' n'a pas sa pareille,
On barque fliotte à vèle⁴ on aviron.

Much of the land and wealth of both Jersey and Guernsey have now passed into alien hands, and the old buildings, customs, and institutions are being treated with the Philistinism of the modern Radical, who is now a dominant factor in insular politics. Such a man even disdains the old language, although in it is centred his national literature, laws, and history.

Yet in spite of all endeavours there still lingers a certain individuality about the thoroughbred Channel Islander; to the world in general he asserts himself an Englishman, but in the presence of the English he boasts of being a Jerseyman or a Guernseyman. As a specimen of the human race he is a curious mixture of the Breton or Celt—debonair, extravagant, superstitious, dreamy to the verge of indifference, apt to “prendre le plaisir pour le bonheur”—and of the Scandinavian, ambitious yet prudent, obstinate, narrow-minded, tenacious, avaricious, and whose lack of “simple faith” is perhaps due to his “Norman blood.”

¹ Cela.

² An old form of the name Guernsey.

³ Bagatelle, sornette.

⁴ Voile.

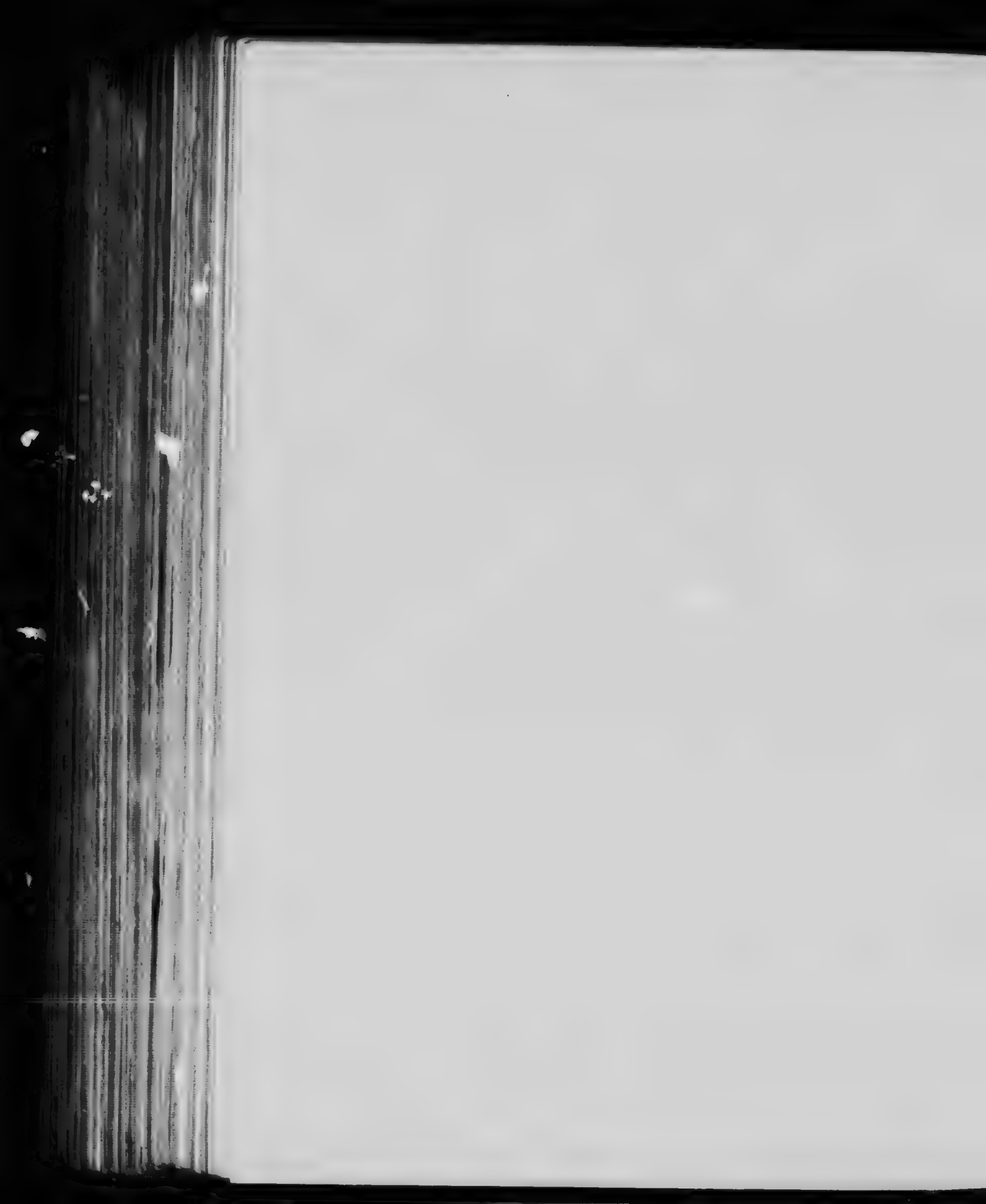
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HIGH STREET, ST. PETER-PORT, GUERNSEY





CHAPER XIII
"THE KEY OF THE CHANNEL"

A race of rugged mariners are these,
Unpolish'd men and boist'rous as their seas.

—POPE.

CHAPTER XIII

"THE KEY OF THE CHANNEL"

THE island of Alderney has always been treated as the "ugly sister" of the Channel Island group; her history has been neglected and her beauty ignored, although latterly her strategic importance has been realised, and since the days when Bonaparte called her "le bouclier d'Angleterre," she has been generally acknowledged to be the key of the Channel.

The island may be physically divided into two distinct halves, the north and east consisting of low sandy commons; and the south and west of huge granite cliffs, fertile uplands, and green valleys. It was in the former division that most of the Alderney cromlechs and the menhir called La Pierre du Vilain¹ were situated and most of the Celtic and Roman remains and coins have been dug up. One of the most curious

¹ In an ordonnance of 1609 respecting the King's newly formed rabbit warren, of which this stone formed one of the boundaries, it is thus described: "Une certaine montjoye ou monceau de pierres, servant de marque au bateaux pour la pêcherie de la mer, communement appelée le vilain, situé en une petite plaine et vallée dite Lie à Raie, qui git entre le mont appelée la Touraille et la montagne du Havre ès Corblets."

The Channel Islands

of these discoveries is mentioned by Holinshed. "There is," he writes, "the Isle of Alderney, a very pretty Plot, about seven miles in compasse, wherein a Priest not long since did find a coffin of stone, in which lay y^e body of and (*sic*) huge Gyaunt, whose fore teeth were so bygge as a man's fist, as Lelande doth report." Dr. Lukis,¹ commenting on the above extract, says that the measurement of the aforesaid cist was only seven feet four inches in length, and explains the presence of this enormous tooth by the conjecture that it may have been a fossilised fragment of some extinct animal, which had been laid in the cist with the other valuables possessed by the deceased.

One of the earliest authentic notices of Alderney is a charter² granted some twenty years before the Conquest of England by William, Count of the Normans, to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel : whereby he gives his islands of Sark and Alderney in exchange for the other half of Guernsey which his father Count Robert had given them for the salvation of his soul, and which he (William) had restored to Ranulph, son of Anschetil. A few years after this, however, Alderney was wrested from the monks of Mont St. Michel in spite of their remonstrances, and given by William the Conqueror to Geoffrey de Mowbray, the warlike Bishop of Coutances.

¹ "Antiquities of Alderney," *Journal of the British Archaeological Association*, April 1847.

² *Calendar of Documents preserved in France*, ed. J. H. Round, p. 251.

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LA NACHE, ROCKS OFF ALDERNEY



“ The Key of the Channel ”

Dupont¹ quotes a thirteenth-century document called the *Status Insule de Aurineo*, which describes the condition of the island in early Plantagenet times. It was then divided equally between the King of England and the Bishop of Coutances, each claiming equal rights of jurisdiction and of *camparts*—that is, the eleventh sheaf of cereals and vegetables. Both King and Bishop had a Court presided over by a prévôt, who received the seigneurial revenues and taxes, and administered justice with the assistance of six jurats sitting alternately in either Court.²

The island was divided into seven *fouages*, or homesteads, and each tenant owning more than six sheep “à deux dents” had to keep and nourish one for the benefit of his seigneur. The King and the Bishop shared between them the general wreck of the sea, the King, however, reserving for himself, “par l’ancienne dignité de la duché,” all gold, silk in the piece, and bales or mantles of scarlet cloth—if whole and unspotted—which might be cast up on the sea-shore. Behind the town of St. Anne lies a district of arable land called the Blayes. The narrow strips of ground into which it is still divided are the out-

¹ Vol. ii. p. 103.

² In the Assize Roll of 1309, according to the latest publication of the Société Jersiaise, the names of these prévôts and five of the jurats are given: William Jacob and William le Petyt, prévôts, and Peter Peset, Peter du Pleyn, James Nicole, William May, and William le Waleys, jurats. (Some of these names survive in Alderney to this day.) A “jury of twelve” is also mentioned by name, evidently corresponding to the parochial *doussaine*.

The Channel Islands

come of the old seigneurial *droit de blairie*—a tithe claimed by each seigneur from the farmers whose cattle roamed at will through this land during the period between harvest and seed-time, but were excluded from it for the rest of the year. This custom lasted well into the nineteenth century. The letters F. and V. cut on the old weather-beaten headstones placed at certain corners of these strips are supposed to denote whether the lands were *terres franches*, whose owners owned a seventh or ninth sheaf to their overlord but were subject to hardly any other servitude, or *terres vilaines*, whose owners owed only the eleventh sheaf but were liable to many other distressing exactions.

The loss of Normandy induced King John to forbid the exportation of any insular produce or revenues from the Islands to the Continent, so that to the royal *camparts* and windmill¹ were added the revenues, *esperquerie* and water-mill belonging to the Bishop of Coutances. After this time the Bishop's Court gradually lapsed, or became inferior to the King's Court in which it was entirely merged when all the property belonging to alien priories was confiscated by Henry IV.

After 1320 the senior jurat, and not the Prévôt, presided over the Court and was called the Judge or rather *Juge Délégué*, meaning that he was the Delegate of the Bailiff of the Guernsey Court, to which

¹ In 1309 there were also "two free hand-mills" in the island belonging to Nicholas le Neir and Sampson le Conte.

“The Key of the Channel”

the Court of Alderney has always been subordinate, having only a limited jurisdiction in civil cases and none at all in criminal cases.

In early times the King apparently farmed or gave away his rights in Alderney, for in the twelfth century William Artifex—or, as French historians call him, Guillaume l'Ingenieur—is described as being “Lord of Alderney” and as a donor of money and lands in that island to the church of Notre-Dame-du-Vœu at Cherbourg. The de Barentins also owned some Alderney property, but conveyed it to Richard de Gray—guardian of the Islands in 1226 and 1229—in exchange for the Fief Paisnel in Jersey. These lands subsequently lapsed to the King, for we find that in 1309 the whole commonalty of Alderney were amerced for attempting to defraud his Majesty of their revenues. In 1376 Edward III. leased Alderney for three years to Thomas Portman, a merchant of Salisbury, at the rate of £20 a year.

The south-eastern portion of the island, just above Longy Bay, appears to have been the earliest inhabited part of it. In the neighbourhood of its cromlechs the first fishing hamlet or town of Alderney was built. This town must have been “the vill of St. Mary,” of which we read in the Assize Roll of 1309;¹ and to St. Mary, Alderney's earliest church was dedicated, for in a charter of 1134² the canons of Cherbourg and Humfrey de Ansgerville notify that they have

¹ Pp. 335-6.

² Round's *Calendar*, etc., pp. 342-3

The Channel Islands

restored the church of "St Mary of Alderney" to the Diocese of Coutances.

The conversion of the island to Christianity is traditionally supposed to have been accomplished by a disciple of St. Magloire, the Breton saint Guennolé or Vignalis, who probably founded one or more of the ancient chapels which have long since disappeared, though their names have come down to us as St. Barbe, St. Nicholas, St. Clair, St. Michel, and St. Aichadrius or Esquerre, the last being situated north of Longy Bay and probably identical with the St. "Deharii" mentioned in the Assize Roll of 1309 as being "next the castle" and belonging to the King. For on Longy heights stood a castle of which the remains still exist, though this building, which once so proudly defended the island and sheltered its governors, has long been allowed to fall into ruin. At the beginning of the last century the remains of four dungeons, situated at each corner of the building, could still be seen. In 1812 John le Mesurier, then Governor of the island, turned the whole enclosure into a sheep-fold, and, while destroying much of the ancient masonry, built the little domed tower which is still to be seen. Situated on rising ground and surrounded by walls, it was originally called the Murs de Haut ; but either the purchase of Alderney in 1590 by Queen Elizabeth's favourite the Earl of Essex, or its having been the residence of Sir William Essex when Governor of the island in the seventeenth century, gained for this structure its present name of Essex Castle. There is no evidence

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A GUERNSEY GIRL



“The Key of the Channel”

but tradition to show that Lord Essex ever landed in the island, and his purchase of it is thus accounted for by an old writer :¹ “Es dernieres guerres le Comte d'Essex alla contre Rouen, and Sir Th. Leighton² qui avoit autrefois veu la ville fut appellé pour estre de son conseil, et un Chamberlan, frère puisné de celui qui estoit Capitaine de Guerneze avant Sir Th. Leighton estoit vivandier de l'armée du Comte ; et parce qu'il n'y pouvoit fournir [? provisions] il vendit ou engagea Aurigni, duquel il estoit Seigneur, pour mille Livres sterlings à un sien parent, lequel parent par autorité du Comte fut mis en possession de la dite Isle pour l'espace de vingt ans, et en jouit encore à présent. Soit que le terme ne soit encore expiré, soit que la Damoiselle es mains de laquelle le droict du Comte est devolu, luy ait confirmé le don ou possession ou autrement.”

According to the writer of a little book about Alderney,³ one of the articles of impeachment against Lord Essex set forth that his design in buying this island “was to secure the person of Elizabeth in this isolated and fortified spot, in order to compel her, amongst many other matters, to settle the succession to her Crown upon him, and, in case of her refusal,

¹ MSS. written between the years 1620 and 1640 by Elie Brevint, minister of Sark, and transcribed by the Rev. George Lee.

² Then Governor of Guernsey.

³ *The Island of Alderney*, by Louisa Lane-Clarke (Guernsey), 1851. The authoress was descended from the le Mesuriers, hereditary Governors of Alderney, and claimed the authority of family manuscripts for many of her statements.

The Channel Islands

himself to assume the reins of government." Below this castle and near Longy Bay is another old building, now called the "Nunnery," but figuring in ancient documents as Les Murs de Bas. Dr. Lukis describes it¹ as of "a quadrangular form, with remains of corner towers having a circular base. These towers are about six feet in diameter, formed of very solid masonry three feet thick. At the height of seventeen feet from the ground the courses are continued in the herring-bone work, composed of stone and Roman tiles. . . . The structure, evidently raised with the materials derived from the Roman town situate at a short distance from its walls, was restored for the accommodation of troops in the year 1793, when its present entrance was constructed. . . . The 'Castrum Longini,' or 'Château de Longis,' is set down in Leland's diminutive map. Little is known among the inhabitants of its former state, or by whom erected. 'The Nunnery' is supposed to have been a name given by the troops who were placed within its lonely walls in 1793."

This building is said² to have been built by the English government as a block-house in 1436 and to have communicated with the castle above by means of a subterranean passage. It was rebuilt in 1584-5 by the orders of John Chamberlain, Seigneur of Alderney, probably with a view to residing there.³

¹ *British Archaeological Journal*, 1847.

² *Alderney*, by Louisa Lane-Clarke, p. 83.

³ *Pièces Curieuses concernant l'île d'Auregny*, by G. S. Syvret, in MS. at Candie Library, Guernsey.

“The Key of the Channel”

William Chamberlain wrote to the Privy Council in 1608 that the old castle was no longer serviceable for the defence of the island; that a small house, which had in former days served as a refuge for pirates and adventurers, had recently been repaired and used as a guard-house; and that another fort, also in ruins, was equally in need of repair.¹

The low-lying town once situated in this vicinity and probably the church were some centuries ago overwhelmed by an inundation of sand, the result of some terrific storm. The precise date of this inundation is unknown, but a document known as the “Vieux Rental” of Alderney dated 1572, when treating of the wages due to the King’s *sergent*, mentions that among his dues was “un costill à la Vallette d’Herbage appellée le costill au dit sergent, contenant iii. vergées ou environ, mais n’est point relevé, ce clos estant submergé par les sablons aussi bien que les terres d’autour du ouest du fort ou montagne de Longy”—which leads to the inference that the inundation had taken place within some measurable distance of time before 1572. But in spite of the destruction of the town—whatever town there may have been—the tiny harbour at Longy continued to be the only port of the island until 1736, when Governor le Mesurier at his own expense built a small breakwater on the northern side of the island. Heylyn, writing in 1629, says: “A great quantity of this little island is overlaid with sand, driven by the fury of the north-west winds; if we

¹ Dupont, iii. p. 660.

The Channel Islands

believe their legends, it proceeded from the just judgment of God upon the owner of those grounds, who once (but when, I know not) had made booty, and put unto the sword some certain Spaniards there shipwrecked."

The granite blocks scattered on the uplands of Les Rochers, but having no adherence to the soil, have by some been considered to be fragments of this submerged town.

The inhabitants who survived this catastrophe retreated to the heights in the centre of the island and proceeded to found their new settlement at Le Bourgage, the nucleus of the present town of St. Anne.¹ There also, on the foundations of a ruined chapel, they erected the first church, dedicated to St. Anne, which must originally have been very primitive, for the nave and north side-chapel were not built until 1761, nor the tower at the east end until 1767. This old church was allowed to fall into a state of hopeless dilapidation, and, with the exception of the clock tower, was finally pulled down. The present beautiful church, designed by Sir Gilbert Scott, was erected in 1850 by the Rev. John le Mesurier, son of

¹ It has been a subject of discussion whether the St. Anne to whom the church and town of Alderney is dedicated is the ordinary St. Anne of Catholic hagiology—the Mother of the Virgin, or the Breton St. Anne, mother of St. Sampson and aunt of St. Magloire. As both Normans and Bretons, as well as naming each homestead after its respective owner, almost invariably named their churches after their founders or after purely local saints, the balance of opinion is in favour of the latter theory.

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DIXCART BAY, SARK



"The Key of the Channel"

the last hereditary Governor of Alderney, in memory of his parents.

In the thirteenth, fourteenth, and fifteenth centuries Alderney, by reason of its proximity to France, suffered even more than the other islands from the ravages of French and other marauders, and finally in 1558 it was taken by a Captain Malesart of Cherbourg and his band of adventurers. Among them was the Sire de Gouberville, who has left a Journal, quoted by Dupont,¹ recounting the event, and describing how "le dymanche troys (juillet) toute la compagnée ne bougea de l'isle et y fismes grand chère. Je disne chez le Capitaine Malesart et souppe chez le sieur de Sideville. Tous les jours nous nous pourmenasmes par l'isle pour voyer les descentes qui y sont et visiter les forts."

But the English fleet under Admiral Clinton was not far off, and he and his men, assisted by Sir Leonard Chamberlain the Governor of Guernsey, reconquered the island and made most of the Frenchmen prisoners. As a reward, in the following year Queen Elizabeth granted Alderney to Sir Leonard's son, George Chamberlain. By Letters Patent dated 1584, in consideration that "the Island of Alderney, within her Majesty's Duchy of Normandy, had lain waste and been uninhabited by her Majesty's subjects, and turned to no profit and been resorted to by enemies,

¹ Vol. iii. p. 336.

² This Sieur de Sideville, whose real name was Jean Ravalet, was captain of a French corsair and a typical sixteenth century free-booter. *Ibid.* iii. p. 362.

The Channel Islands

Pirates and Robbers," the Queen granted it, with all its rights and emoluments, to "John Chamberlain, his heirs and assigns, for ever, *in capite*, by a knight's fee," with the proviso that he should cause it to be inhabited by at least forty of her subjects. It was apparently this John Chamberlain who in 1590 transferred Alderney to William Chamberlain,¹ whom we afterwards find involved in the first of the many disputes between the seigneurs and the wild and lawless inhabitants of the island.

In the reign of Elizabeth, Alderney threw off the yoke of Roman Catholicism, and the Extent of 1607 computes the value of the "rents escheated which have been given to the maintenance of Superstitions and Abuses" as about four quarters of wheat and £26 sterling in money. But Protestantism was not encouraged by the Chamberlains, who were bigoted Roman Catholics. Sir Leonard was the Governor of Guernsey when three unfortunate women were

¹ The Chamberlains were cousins of the John Andros who married Judith de Sausmarez in 1543, and Sir Leonard Chamberlain was guardian to his son. William Chamberlain was also connected with Guernsey through his wife, Elizabeth de la Marche. Her mother was Margaret, daughter of Thomas Compton, formerly Bailiff and Lieutenant-Governor of Guernsey. Margaret's first husband was Guillaume de Beauvoir (the Guernsey Bailiff who introduced Calvinism into the Island), and her spendthrift son, Pierre de Beauvoir, was consequently addressed as "lovinge brother" by William Chamberlain in a letter dealing with French menaces to Alderney in 1627 (*Actes des Etats*, p. 92). Margaret Compton is described by Elie Brevint as "une femme superbe, adonnée à ses plaisirs, qui faisait amas de joyaux et vaisseaux d'or et d'argent, etc., prodiguez pour la pluspart par le susdit P. Beauvoir."

"The Key of the Channel"

burnt for heresy;¹ and Sir Leonard's grandson, George Chamberlain, as Bishop of Ypres from 1626 to 1634, was the immediate predecessor of the famous Cornelius Jansen.² It is not altogether surprising, therefore, that in 1609 we find the inhabitants, "weary to live in such unchristian and barbarous estate," complaining to the Royal Commissioners that the living of Alderney had been left vacant for sixteen years, and that to their great inconvenience they had been obliged to come all the way to Guernsey for their marriages and their baptisms.

This Romish bias on the part of its Governors probably led to Alderney's being reclaimed by the Crown, and after a short rule by Sir William Essex it was included in the jurisdiction of the Governors of Guernsey.³

But the Chamberlains evidently did not immediately vacate the island, for a memorandum in the State

¹ *Ante*, p. 101.

² *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vi. 403.

³ Sir William was succeeded by Captain Nicholas Ling, a Round-head officer who had been wounded at Edgehill. He came to Guernsey in 1643, in the service of Lord Warwick, the Parliamentary Governor of the island, and while in Guernsey he married Cécile, daughter of Thomas Andros and of his wife Elizabeth, *née* de Carteret. At the Restoration, with the easy conscience of that time, from being a staunch follower of Cromwell's he became "plus Royaliste que le Roy," and in 1661 we find him causing the suspension of "Master Lucas Duplain, jurat," for not presenting himself with the rest of the Court to take the oath of allegiance to the King. In 1693 Captain Ling's heirs sold to Sir Edmund Andros some land and a house which was subsequently rebuilt by the le Meauriers and turned into Government House. It is now in the possession of a Roman Catholic sisterhood.

The Channel Islands

Paper Office, supposed to date from 1643¹ says :—
“There is one called Chamberlain, a fermer of the
Iland of Alderney, who is esteemed among the
better sort of the inhabitants of Garnezey, to be a
great Papist, and to send secretly men over into
France with advises.” This probably explains the
stringency of an order which Robert Russell, Parlia-
mentarian Governor of Guernsey, gave in 1643 to
his lieutenant in Alderney, Pierre le Febvre, Seigneur
de l’Espine. “Vous prendrez garde,” he wrote,² “que
les Papistes ou Catholiques Romains soient chassés,
que aucun qui auroit tenu tant soit peu d’inclination
pour adherer à superstition ne soit aucunement souffert
dans la ditte Isle.”

A few weeks before the Restoration, Charles II.
granted the island to Edward de Carteret of Jersey,
and this grant he confirmed in August 1660, including,
however, James de Carteret and Clement le Couteur
as objects of his bounty. These three men were
given Alderney for 13s. annual rent, and were to
hold it conjointly until the death of the last survivor,
but in the autumn of the same year they sold their
rights to Sir George Carteret. A little over twenty
years later Sir George’s widow and heirs sold the
remainder of their lease to Sir Edmund Andros, and
in consideration of the latter’s having voluntarily
resigned his rights to the Crown, a fresh Patent was
issued, granting Alderney at the same rent as before

¹ *Notes and Queries*, 3rd Series, vi. 331.

² Syvret MSS.

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ROAD TO CREUX HARBOUR, SARK



“The Key of the Channel”

to him and his heirs for ninety-nine years. On his death without issue in 1705 Sir Edmund bequeathed the island to his nephew George Andros, who died the following year, leaving as his heirs his sister Anne, wife of John le Mesurier, and two daughters who both died minors and unmarried; and thus it passed into the hands of the le Mesurier family.

In 1763 John le Mesurier, then Governor, obtained the renewal of his lease for another term of ninety-nine years, and he and his family, enriched as they were by their successful privateers, spent large sums of money, and did all in their power to improve the island, civilise the people, and reorganise the Militia.

Prior to 1777 the defence of the island was chiefly committed to the vigilance of women. As Mrs. Lane-Clarke tells us,¹ “there were beacon towers and a watch-house in different parts of the island, and here the women watched whilst the men laboured at their usual avocations. On these mounds were placed tar-barrels, heaped over with fern, and when an alarm was given they were fired as signals to the neighbouring island. The dress of the Alderney women was peculiar, consisting of a scarlet cloth petticoat and jacket, a large ruff round their necks fastened under the chin by a black ribbon or gold hook, and a round linen cap stiffened so much as to be taken off and put on like a man’s hat. It is reported that on one occasion, when the island was

¹ *Alderney*, p. 85.

The Channel Islands

menaced by a French man-of-war, the Governor ordered out all the women in their scarlet dresses, and, disposing them skilfully upon the heights, effectually deceived the enemy with the appearance of his forces."

During the eighteenth century the conquest of England was fully determined on by the French, and the capture of the Channel Islands was decided to be the first step to this end. Even de Rullecourt's defeat in Jersey in 1761 did not discourage them, and in 1794 over 20,000 men were under arms at Port-Malo, and Alderney was resolved upon as the port of debarkation.¹ But the French armament was defective, and their plans so badly laid that the English Admiral, through an intercepted letter, got wind of their project, and thus this attempt had to be abandoned, although the northern ports of Port-Malo, Havre, and Cherbourg continued to be strongly garrisoned and fortified.

As a reply to these menaces England resolved to strengthen the defences of all the Islands, and especially of Alderney. Since that time successive Governments have spent millions of money in building huge forts around the islands; but many of these, being of no use for modern warfare, have been allowed to fall into ruins. The island became so important in the estimation of England that in 1825 John le Mesurier, in a fit of pique at the ingratitude

¹ *Projets et Tentatives de Débarquement aux Iles Britanniques*, by Edouard Desbrière, t. i. p. 37.

“The Key of the Channel”

of the people, surrendered his patent to the Crown in consideration of the payment of £700 a year during the residue of the ninety-nine years' term, and from that date, Alderney has been under the administration of the Governors of Guernsey.

The appearance of Alderney from the sea is that of a rugged mass of solid granite, covered with a flat carpet of green, and rent by giant fissures running down to the sea. It is surrounded by dangerous rocks and whirlpools between which rushes a seething tide, and the plaintive cries of countless sea-birds seem a fitting accompaniment to the dreary aspect of the grim rocks and foaming seas. The first impression on landing is that of desolation and ruin. Half of the breakwater which was erected at enormous expense in 1847 has been swept away by the sea; the houses built hard by to accommodate the army of labourers employed on these harbour-works have fallen or are falling down; the little sleepy town with its grass-grown streets is surrounded by alleys, houses, and gates all mouldering into decay; and in the distance the ruined walls of once powerful forts stand, although their “wind-worn battlements are gone.”

But when once on the beautiful southern coast, looking down on—

The murmuring surge
That on th' unnumber'd idle pebbles chafes,

it is impossible not to feel that rugged, treeless

The Channel Islands

Alderney has a savage untamed beauty denied to the other islands ; the beauty of wild nature, swept by sea-breezes, washed by brilliant foaming waves, and surrounded by

Cliffs and downs and headlands which the forward-hasting
Flight of dawn and eve empurples and embrowns.

If the theory be true that men, like insects, are what their environment makes them, it is easy to understand how some of the gloomy ferocity of their island entered into the disposition of the lawless Alderney wreckers, pirates, and freebooters of former days, who, cut off by their perilous seas from much intercourse with the outer world, retained their primitive beliefs and superstitions until a comparatively late period. Mrs. Lane-Clarke,¹ writing in 1851, mentions as still current the insular tradition that Breton fishermen from the opposite coast were long exempted from tribute on condition that when summoned by mystic spirit voices they would put out to sea and face the wild Channel in their little open boats mysteriously weighed down by some invisible burden, until they reached Alderney, destined to be the resting place of the departed. A recent writer on Alderney² describes the May-day festivities still celebrated in the island in the early years of Queen Victoria's reign, when "every street had its bunch of flowers strung up in air across the roadway. . . .

¹ *Alderney*, pp. 50-51.

² "Some Studies on Alderney Nomenclature" (*Clarke's Guernsey Magazine*, 1891).

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THE SISTER ROCKS, ALDERNEY



"The Key of the Channel"

Around each of these, at stated hours, a rhythmic hand-in-hand dance, to the measured strains of *À mon beau Laurier qui danse*, would be taken up, always ending in the renowned popular osculatory movement that constituted, for both sexes alike, its chief charm, . . . and often prolonged into the twilight hour, when it degenerated into a real saturnalia." The first Sunday in Lent was then still known as "Le Jour des Brandons," and the young men and girls of the island assembled at the extreme point of La Clanque to sing and dance the same curious old measure, and concluding the ceremonial by lighting firebrands made of twisted straw, which they waved and threw about the narrow streets of the town to the danger of the thatched houses. In spite of repressive measures on the part of the Court, in 1770 Governor le Mesurier complained that "the magistrates have not been able to eradicate it from the island"; so steadfastly did the islanders cling to these remnants of propitiatory sacrifices to gods and goddesses of cereal and furrow, to symbolic deities of life and death, to us unknown or long forgotten.

THE CREUX HARBOUR, SARK



CHAPTER XIV
THE "GARDEN OF CYMODOCE"

Sark, fairer than aught in the world that the lit skies cover,
Laughs inly behind her cliffs, and the sea-farers mark
As a shrine where the sunlight serves, though the blown clouds hover,
Sark.

Here earth lies lordly, triumphal as heaven is above her,
And splendid and strange as the sea that upbears as an ark,
As a sign for the rapture of storm-spent eyes to discover,
Sark.

—SWINBURNE

CHAPTER XIV

THE "GARDEN OF CYMODOCE"

THE old legends of enchanted islands which appeared at one time almost within reach, and at another far away on the horizon are irresistibly recalled as one gazes at Sark from Guernsey. On some days it is so clear-cut against the sky that every undulation is visible; on others, so shrouded in dim mists that it seems long miles away.

At first sight it looks almost inaccessible, for its rock-bound shores—where on every peak and headland gorse blazes golden against the sky—rise sheer three hundred feet above the sea. Not until half the circuit of the island has been made does the little harbour, with its modern pier and breakwater, come into sight. In former days only the sloping beach at Le Creux and the little artificially hewn tunnel gave access to this "small sweet world of wave-encompassed wonder."¹

¹ The memory still survives of the occasion when the Lords of the Admiralty, wishing to land and inspect the defences of Sark before the harbour was built, sailed round and round the island vainly seeking for a landing-place, and finally sailed away, declaring that it was inaccessible

The Channel Islands

This "Garden of Cymodoce," as Mr. Swinburne calls it, is by far the loveliest and least spoilt of the Islands—a table-land surrounded and upheld by wild beetling cliffs and intersected by cool green country roads leading to old thatched granite farmhouses. This verdant plateau slopes everywhere into wooded valleys which in springtime are so thick with primroses or with wild hyacinths that the ground seems flooded with pale golden light or is blue as if with "the heavens uprising through the earth"; and these glades end abruptly in some rocky precipice which, right down to the water's edge, is fringed with ferns, heather, and ivy, or set with clusters of sea campion, fragile and white as the spray itself. At the foot of these cliffs the coast is in many places broken up into caves which are almost as much a feast of colour as the land above, filled as they are with dark pools and purple rocks covered with countless seaweeds, and containing such an infinite variety of sea-anemones that they are

From the crown of the culminant arch to the floor of the lakelet
abloom,
One infinite blossom of blossoms innumerable aflush through the
gloom.

Great Sark is connected with Little Sark by "one sheer thread of narrowing precipice" called the Coupée. Far below, the sea thunders and roars; it is the wildest, weirdest spot in the Channel Islands. Especially is its grandeur enhanced when the sur-

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PORT DU MOULIN FROM THE SEIGNEURIE
GROUNDS, SARK



The "Garden of Cymodoce"

roundings are obscured by drifting masses of rain-cloud or wreaths of fog, when the sea murmurs invisible beneath and the really great depth seems illimitable, and, standing on the narrow causeway, one seems to have wandered somehow into space and to be surrounded by nothing but the elementary forces of nature.

This little isolated rock in the Channel has had a varied and eventful history.¹ Like the other islands, it was populated in the dim past by the cromlech builders, though the evidences of their occupation have now mostly been destroyed. Other relics of ancient peoples are still found in the island, such as stone celts, known to the peasantry as *coins de foudre* or thunderbolts, and regarded as talismans against lightning; stone discs or amulets called *rouettes des fétiaux*, or fairies' spinning wheels; and tiny pipes with very small bowls, called *pipes des fétiaux*, or fairies' pipes—for in Sark, as in Normandy and Brittany, everything old and mysterious is associated by the simple country folk with "the fairies," a lingering belief in whom still survives.

The earliest known inhabitants of Sark in historic times were probably a detachment of the Visigothic army. For we read in the proceedings of the Sark Court for 1718 that five Sarkese declared upon

¹ Much use has been made in this chapter of the Rev. J. L. V. Cachemaille's *Historical and Descriptive Sketch of the Island of Sark*, which appeared in Clarke's *Guernsey Magazine* for the years 1874, 1875, and 1876.

The Channel Islands

oath that in making a hedge they found in an earthen pot bound with an iron hoop thirteen pieces of metal twelve of them shaped like plates but of different sizes, and the other oblong and in the form of a fish, which were identified as specimens of the Mint of Catoluca¹ (conjectured to be the place now called Cadillac) in the Visigothic kingdom; also eighteen small coins rudely engraved with a lion, the badge of the Visigothic dynasty. From being unmixed with Frankish money of a later date it has been conjectured that these Visigoths garrisoned or at least visited Sark about the beginning of the fifth century, almost a hundred years before the final conquest of Gaul.

The Breton missionary St. Magloire, when he first repaired to the Islands, took up his abode in Sark and founded a chapel and a monastery, the latter on the site still known as Le Moinerie, situated near the Eperquerie—then the harbour of Sark—and close to a little stream, upon which a water-mill was erected some eighty feet above the bay to which it gave the name of Port-du-Moulin.

Tradition says that, in answer to an appeal for support from St. Magloire, more than sixty monks from Normandy, Brittany, and Great Britain came over to the island and founded a school which flourished until swept away by the wild northern pirates under the Danish Jarl Hastings or Hatenai. Traces of Scandinavian entrenchments are still to be

¹ *The Sark Guide*, by G. W. James, (Guernsey, 1845).

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THE COUPÉE, SARK



The "Garden of Cymodoce"

seen at Grand Fort and at Le Château or Hog's Back, where also much mediæval pottery was found, besides portions of weapons and ornaments in gold and silver, when the interior of the fort was cleared.

We have seen in the preceding chapter that Sark, with Alderney, was given by William Longsword Duke of Normandy to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel, and transferred by the Conqueror to the Diocese of Coutances.

In the twelfth century we find Sark in the possession of the powerful Norman family of de Vernon, whose connection with the Islands was strengthened by the subsequent marriage of Marie, William de Vernon's daughter, to Pierre de Préaux, "Seigneur des Iles." About the year 1174 this William de Vernon granted to the Abbey of Montebourg "the chapel of St. Maglorius in Sark," as well as the site of the mill which had belonged to St. Magloire. This gift was confirmed by his son Richard de Vernon in 1186 by a charter executed and witnessed in the chapel itself. Appended to this charter is a seal representing an armed knight bearing a shield displaying a saltire—the same arms as were borne by Matilda le Vernon, wife of Richard de la Haye, the founder of the Abbey of Blanchelande. In the reign of King John the de Vernons took the part of Philip Augustus, and thus Sark became forfeit to the King of England.

It was then ravaged by that "moine devenu démon," the renegade Fleming, Eustache le Moine. This adventurer, accompanied by Geoffrey de Lucy (at

The Channel Islands

one time "Seigneur des Iles," though afterwards another deserter from the service of King John), invaded the islands in 1214; but they were finally repulsed, leaving behind as prisoners the men by whom Sark was garrisoned, including a brother and an uncle of Eustache.

In the Assize Roll of 1309 we find Nicholas Bishop of Avranches and the Abbot of Montebourg disputing with the King certain rights in Sark, especially the lucrative seigneurial perquisite of a mill and the advowson of the church (presumably the chapel of St. Magloire). The advowson seems to have been awarded to the Abbot, for in 1338 Montebourg continued to send over a monk to reside in the Priory and perform the services of the chapel.

In those days Sark formed a separate bailiwick, as "William son of Richard" was then the Bailiff, and Ralph Ode—in succession to Richard Durel—was then Provost or Sheriff, while, as in Alderney, there were six jurats of the King's Court, and twelve jurors of the Crown, who were probably chosen for the purpose of the Assize from among the residents.

The King had at that time, "near the Priory in front of the house of Putyball," certain lands where his grange was situated, and a rabbit warren which in 1309 was farmed for fifty livres, "but it has never before let for so much."¹

There appear to have been over a dozen minor holdings as well as the five principal fiefs—namely,

¹ Assize Roll, p. 202.

The "Garden of Cymodoce"

Collochit, Machon, Geoffrey Richard, Richard Marie, and John Neel—into which Sark was then divided, the tenants of which owed "carriage of the corn of the champart of the lord the King in Normandy wheresoever the officers of the lord the King shall wish between Mount St. Michael and Cherbourg"; these tenants being obliged to provide the linen cloths and sacks as well as the boats in which the corn was transported, and to "keep the prisoners of the lord the King in the aforesaid fees."

In this Assize Roll minute particulars are given¹ of a certain Andrew du Val, son of Roger, who, with his brother Nicholas, had abjured the Islands for various felonies. "And the said Nicholas," we read, "died. And the said Andrew afterwards returned, saying he had letters of pardon of the lord the King. And as soon as the present Justices came here the said Andrew fled to the Church here and remained in the same, who being asked on behalf of the Justices if he had letters of pardon, said that his brother had lost them." This Andrew is said to have owned about seven virgates (nearly four acres) of land; "and the crop of the land this year is worth 60 sols. He has also one cow value 20 sols, one heifer value 20 sols, one calf value 5 sols, one foal value 20 sols, a sheep value 20 sols, wool value 10 sols, one hog value 6 sols, timber value 4 sols, one chest value 3 sols, ropes and fetters value 7 sols, one pan with a tripod value 4 sols, and the sixth part

¹ P. 199.

The Channel Islands

of a boat value 8 sols." If one takes into account the enormous difference in the value of money, this shows him to have been a man of considerable property, and proves that, in spite of marauding foes, Sark had then attained a comparatively high level of cultivation and prosperity.

During the fourteenth century, however, Sark was included in the many invasions the Islands suffered at the hands of the French and other foes, its farms were ravaged and its peaceful inhabitants destroyed, and it acquired the reputation of being a haunt of pirates and adventurers and of men who decoyed vessels by false beacon lights to their rocky shores, and then plundered them. These wreckers were such a menace to the trade of the Channel that in 1356 some merchants of the ports of Rye and Winchelsea fitted out a vessel for the purpose of expelling them. They are said to have succeeded in entering the island by means of a stratagem, which Sir Walter Raleigh—sometime Governor of Jersey, whence he probably derived his information—relates in his *History of the World*, though he postdates the incident by some two hundred years, and describes it as having occurred to the crew of a Flemish ship. This is his story:—

"The Island of *Sark*, joining to *Guernzey*, and of that Government, was in Queen *Mary's* time surprised by the *French*, and could never have been recovered again by strong hand, having Cattle and Corn enough upon the Place to feed so many men as will serve to defend it, and being every way so

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THE WEST COAST OF SARK



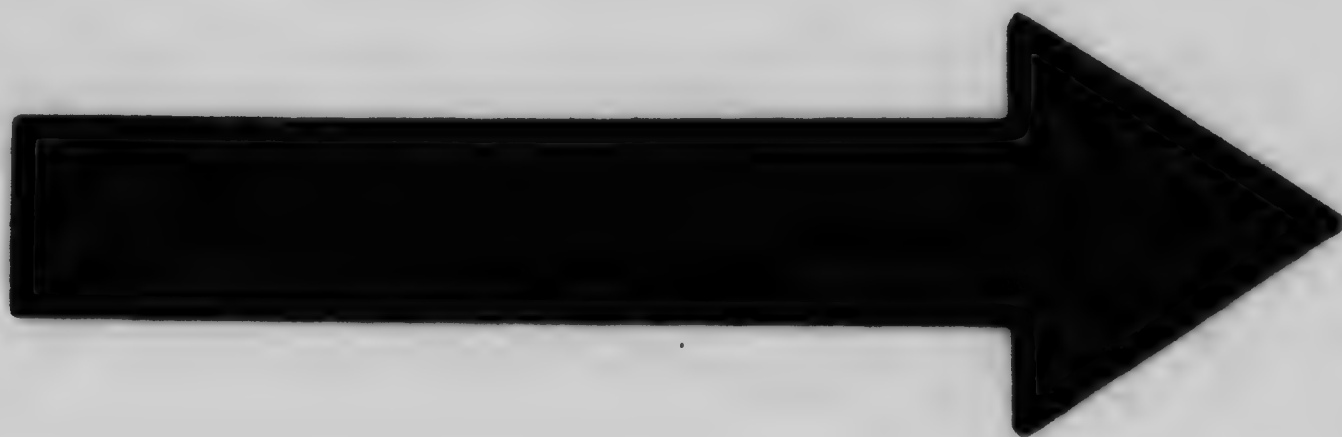


The "Garden of Cymodoce"

inaccessible that it might be held against the *Great Turk*. Yet by the industry of a Gentleman of the *Netherlands*, it was in this sort regained. He anchored in the Road with one Ship, and, pretending the Death of his Merchant, besought the *French* that they might bury their Merchant in hallowed Ground, and in the Chapel of that Isle; offering a Present to the *French* of such Commodities as they had aboard. Whereto (with Condition that they should not come ashore with any Weapon, not so much as with a Knife), the *French* yielded. Then did the *Flemings* put a Coffin into their Boat, not filled with a Dead Carcass, but with Swords, Targets and Harquebuzes. The *French* received them at their Landing, and, searching every one of them so narrowly as they could not hide a Penknife, gave them leave to draw their Coffin up the Rocks with great difficulty. Some part of the *French* took the *Flemish* Boat, and rowed aboard their Ship to fetch the Commodities promised, and what else they pleased, but, being entered, they were taken and bound. The *Flemings* on the Land, when they had carried their Coffin into the Chapel, shut the Door to them, and, taking their Weapons out of the Coffin, set upon the *French*. They ran to the Cliff, and cry to their Companions aboard the *Fleming* to come to their Succour. But, finding the Boat charged with *Flemings*, yielded themselves and the Place."

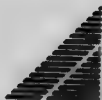
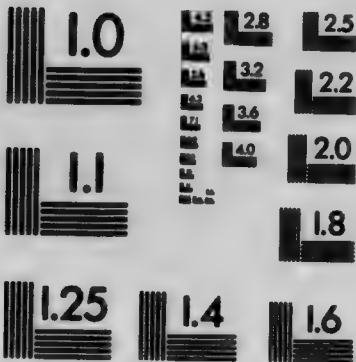
Sir Edgar MacCulloch¹ points out that though it

¹ *Guernsey Folklore*, p. 470.



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The Channel Islands

may be rash to deny that such an event ever occurred in the history of Sark, yet from the days of the Wooden Horse of Troy similar tales have been told in many other countries, and that it is therefore quite possible that this story may be a mere survival or echo of some ancient legend.

For the next two hundred years the island apparently remained uninhabited, and in 1549 a little force of eleven galleys under the command of Léon Strozzi sailed from France, and Captain Bruel and four hundred men landed at the Eperquerie and peacefully took possession of and fortified the island. These men, who were said to have been recruited from every French prison, soon got tired of their enforced banishment, and seized every opportunity of escaping, so that in 1558 the garrison had dwindled down to thirty men, and in consequence the island was easily recaptured by a force of some Flemish vessels which sailed from Guernsey and surprised the sleeping soldiers without encountering the slightest resistance. These Flemings presented the island to Queen Mary, expecting a handsome reward; as she took no notice of the gift, they shook the dust of Sark off their feet and sailed away. After this the island again remained totally uninhabited for some years. The next chapter of its history is narrated by the anonymous author of the *Chroniques de Jersey*, who lived at that time.

It appears that Hellier de Carteret, Seigneur of St. Ouen (grandson of the Philip de Carteret and

The "Garden of Cymodoce"

Margaret Harliston whom we met with in an earlier chapter), seeing the danger that might arise to the other islands if this vulnerable spot was left thus unguarded, by the permission of the Guernsey authorities took possession of the island and decided to colonise and cultivate it. He had married his first cousin, Margaret de Carteret widow of Clement Dumaresq, and relying on her "grand courage et bon vouloir," took her over to Sark with him. They found the island a wilderness, with neither roads where a cart could pass nor a harbour where a boat could land with any safety; filled with thorns, furze, and briers, and burrowed through and through by innumerable rabbits. They were compelled to take with them meat, drink, and every other necessary of life, and Madame de Carteret, in default of any other house or habitation, was fain to take up her abode in the little vaulted chapel of St. Magloire, while her husband and his followers set about repairing and thatching with fern some of the ruined buildings in its vicinity. They soon found that it was necessary to send to Jersey for wood, straw, and other building requisites, as well as for horses, oxen, cows, and farming utensils.

Notwithstanding all these difficulties, the Seigneur and his wife refused to be discouraged, and by degrees the ground was dug and the thorns torn out, and cottages and gardens, cornfields and meadows, replaced the former desolation.

Then Hellier set sail for London and took with

The Channel Islands

him, to show to Queen Elizabeth, a chart of Sark and its environs, "en quoy Sa Majesté y print un singullier plaisir"; and in consideration of the great trouble, labours, and expense to which the Seigneur had been put, the Queen in 1565 created the island into a fief, which was to be accounted as the twentieth of a Fief Haubert, and then presented it to Hellier and his heirs in perpetuity on payment of £40 sterling and fifty shillings of annual rent, but on condition that he should cause the island to be inhabited by "forty men at least, Our subjects." She also sent him from out of the Tower of London "six belles pièces d'artillerie" and other munitions of war for the protection of his island. At the Seigneurie these cannon are still to be seen, and on one of them is the inscription "Don de Sa Majesté la Royne Elizabeth, au Seigneur de Sercq, A.D. 1572."

On his return to the island the Seigneur hastened to perform his contract and brought over a number of Jerseymen principally from his parish of St. Ouen, and he also applied for assistance to "son très feal amy," a Mr. Nicholas Gosselin, the eldest son of the notorious Bailiff of Guernsey; he was connected with Jersey through his wife, Peronelle Lemprière, who was a daughter of the Seigneur of La Hougue Boëte and evidently noted at that date for her learning, for Elie Brevint records with admiration that she "sçavoit lire et escrire." Mr. Gosselin accordingly sent over some Guernsey families as colonists, and as a token of gratitude the Seigneur granted him the lands and

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TARDIF'S COTTAGE, SARK



The "Garden of Cymodoce"

the "droits de chasse" of Beauregard, situated above the creek called Havre Gosselin in his honour.

Representatives of these original forty colonists still exist in Sark, and they hold their land by a totally different tenure from any which prevails in the other islands. The chief difference lies in the fact that though a tenant may alienate his holding upon payment to the Seigneur of a thirteenth of the value, he may not share or divide his heritage, which, in default of an heir within the seventh canonical degree, reverts to the Seigneur.

The Seigneur, in virtue of his position, held military rank in the army, even though, as once happened, he chanced to be in Holy Orders; and Lieutenant-Colonel the Rev. W. T. Collings, in full uniform and girt with a sword, at the head of his vassals, was a modern illustration of the old Norman fighting ecclesiastic. For each member of the "quarantaine" was bound by his tenure to furnish an able-bodied man with musket and ammunition for the defence of the island, and these men composed the "Royal Sark Militia," which has only of late disappeared from the Army List.

Hellier de Carteret having collected his tenants and got them to build his windmill, set them to work at a breakwater in the little Baie de la Motte, and bored a tunnel through the adjacent cliff (from whence it derived its present name of "Creux," or hole), so that a cart track could be made and goods conveyed from the seashore to the interior of the island.

The Channel Islands

He also brought over from Jersey a Norman minister of the Reformed Church named Cosmé Brevint,¹ and the old chronicler in a burst of pride assures us that "n'y a Eglise en toutes les Isles n'y ailleurs mieux reformée, n'y où le peuple soit mieux gouverné et mieux réglé en la crainte de Dieu, qu'en celle de l'Isle de Sercq."

Sark's earliest Court was modelled on the Royal Court of Jersey, with a Bailiff, twelve jurats, a Procureur, and several minor officials, all elected from among the islanders, and presided over by the Seigneur. One of its earliest records, dated 1579, relates to a fine which it inflicted on five of the inhabitants for omitting to attend the evening sermon on the previous Sunday. For in those days the people spoke of "going to the sermon" and not of going to church; and the road leading west from Elie Brevint's house to the site of the old church is still called "La Rue du Sermon." But this original constitution was short-lived. In 1582 the Cernsey Court decided that as Sark formed a portion of the Bailiwick its institutions should be modelled on that of the larger island, so the self-elected officials were dismissed, and the whole manner of procedure was remodelled. But the rigid Presbyterianism of this second administration led to its downfall, and in 1672

¹ Cosmé Brevint was succeeded by his son Elie, Minister of Sark from 1612 to 1674, and uncle of Dr. Daniel Brevint, S.T.P., Dean of Lincoln and Prebendary of Durham. Elie Brevint's notebook of jottings and memoranda is in the possession of the present Seigneur of Sark.

The "Garden of Cymodoce"

by an Order in Council¹ the Royal Court of Guernsey was ordered to appoint a Seneschal, as the Sark jurats "refused to take the oaths and subscribe the Declaration, and receive the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper in such manner as by Law is directed," and they were consequently abolished.

The Seneschal is now appointed by the Seigneur, and in addition to these two the only other officials included in the present Court are the prévôt and the greffier, while the simple farmers and fishermen who constitute the tenants of the forty indivisible tenements remain as the hereditary legislators of the island at the Chief Pleas.

A rare tract,² entitled *News from the Channel, or the Discovery and perfect Description of the Isle of Serke*, being a letter from "a gentleman now inhabiting there, to his Friend and Kinsman in London," published in 1673, gives a description of the island as it then existed. The writer touches upon the "rare mutton," and the abundance of woodcock,

duck, and "clift-Pidgeons, with which at some seasons the whole Island is covered." He describes the people as being "naturally of a courteous affable temper," and of their dress, which resembled that of the Bretons at Morlaix, he says that every man religiously preserves "his vast blew Trunk Breeches and a Coat almost like a Dutch Froe's Vest, or one

¹ *Second Report of Commissioners*, 1846, p. 186.

² Later republished under the auspices of the Rev. George Lee, (Guernsey, 1902).

The Channel Islands

of your Watermen's Liveries ; Nor are the Women behindhand with them in their Hospital gowns of the same colour, Wooden sandalls, white Stockings, and Red Petticoats so mean they are scarce worth taking up : Both Sexes on Festivals wear large Ruffs and the Women instead of Hats or Hoods Truss up their hair, the more Gentile sort in a kind of Cabridge-net, those of meaner Fortunes in a peice of Linnen—(which) they tying on the top make it shew like a Turkish Turbant, but that part of it hangs down their backs like a Veil."

Sark remained in the hands of the de Carterets until 1713, when Sir Charles de Carteret, Baronet, being heavily in debt, obtained permission from Queen Anne to sell the island. It then passed into the family of Milner, and after they had held it for a few years it was purchased in 1730 by Dame Susanne *née* le Gros, widow of Mr. Nicholas le Pelley.¹

About twenty-five years later, Dame Elizabeth Etienne, widow of Mr. Daniel le Pelley, "Dame de Serk" during the minority of her son Peter, found herself involved in a controversy with the ecclesiastical authorities of Guernsey respecting the advowson of Sark. In the early days of Presbyterianism there was no regular building set aside for the purpose of Divine worship. St. Magloire's chapel which had sheltered

¹ She was a French woman, being a daughter of Mr. Jean le Gros, "juge et Capitaine de Serk," and had married her first cousin. The le Pelleys were of an old Guernsey family, who had formerly owned "la grande maison et parc des Balans" in the Vale Parish, and afterwards the property of le Mont Durand in St. Peter-Port.

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LES AUTELETS, SARK



The "Garden of Cymodoce"

Madame de Carteret had been pulled down by her husband, probably as being a relic of Popery. A little later on the Seigneur, on his own initiative, gave a small thatched building without ceiling or chimney, and attached to the barns of the Manor Farm, to serve as a Meeting House, and provided a Vicar and paid his stipend out of his own pocket. In this way succeeding seigneurs came to claim that "the Minister officiating in Serk has always been considered by the Lord as his Chaplain, and paid and lodged according to agreement; and though the tenants formerly covered the Chapel, it must be argued that besides being appropriated to Divine Worship, it is also the Place where the Court is held, and where the public School is kept, so that it is probable this service was performed for these privileges."¹ Madame le Pelley therefore felt herself quite within her rights in dismissing for misconduct the then Vicar, a Frenchman called Pierre Levrier, and looking out for a substitute. But the Dean of Guernsey and the other clergy denied her right to interfere, and thence resulted a virtual deadlock for two years. Elizabeth le Pelley was a masterful woman and one not to be brow-beaten. Had she not served as douzenier² in St. Peter-Port, although it was extremely unusual at that time for women to fill parochial offices? Determined to have her own way, she locked the church door, put the

¹ Le Pelley MSS. in possession of Colonel Ernest le Pelley, son of Mr. Ernest le Pelley, the last le Pelley Seigneur of Sark.

² "Jugement" of 1754. Le Pelley MSS.

The Channel Islands

key in her pocket, and defied any authority, lay or ecclesiastical, to use the building for any purpose whatsoever. Citations and mandates began to arrive, summoning her to go to Guernsey and appear before the Dean's Court to answer for her conduct ; but she paid no attention to them. She was then threatened with excommunication ; but even that did not affect her. At the end of the year her son attained his majority, and the wrath of the authorities was directed against him, and he was ordered, on pain of "excommunication majeure," to have Service duly performed in the church. In obedience to this mandate, on December 14th, 1755, he sent for Jean Fevot, Rector of the Vale Parish, to perform the Service ; but while the Prayers were being read Pierre Levrier rushed in and raised the "Clameur de Haro," which effectually stopped all further proceedings and brought the whole affair under the jurisdiction of the Royal Court, who adjudged Levrier to be in the right. Among the le Pelley manuscripts, however, is preserved a "Permit from y^e Seneschal to use y^e Prevost and Constables to make Levrier quit y^e island." This is dated 1756, and as in the following year a Mr. Cayeux Deschamps was appointed by the Bishop of Winchester to the cure of the island, matters evidently resulted in a triumph for the Seigneur and his mother.¹

¹ Probably this result was due to the interference of the Bishop, who was trying to control the undesirable French proselytes from the Church of Rome who at that date flocked to the Channel Islands for the purpose of occupying insular livings, and were frequently the cause of grave scandals in their parishes. Some dozen years previously

The "Garden of Cymodoce"

In 1820 this Peter le Pelley laid the foundation stone of the present church, which was completed by his son. Dr. Pusey, who resided in Sark during his suspension from his office of preacher in Oxford, was the first to wear a surplice or perform the Service in English in this building. The le Pelleys had turned the former Manor House into the Vicarage, having rebuilt the Perronnerie—the old house they inherited from the le Gros family—and converted it into the Seigneurie. One of their last works was the building of the girls' school on a spot exactly opposite to and closely adjoining the site of the demolished chapel founded by St. Magloire.

Some education was sadly needed to brighten the lives of the Sarkese, who, to while away the monotony of the long evenings, had instituted *veillés* (watches), when all met at some appointed house to knit, sew, sing or dance. Sometimes these assemblies degenerated into orgies of masqueraders, for, alone among the Islanders, the Sarkese disguised themselves during their revels. They also had a curious custom—probably a survival of some forgotten rite—that

the Bishop had written to the ecclesiastical authorities of Jersey that no abjurations of French priests should be received by them, and that these men "professing themselves to be converts" should at once be despatched to London, where their credentials could be verified by the principal French and English authorities. The Bishop added that they were not to be given any "introductory letters" by the insular clergy, as he attributed their arrival in his diocese "as being only a convenience for making a quick escape from France" (*La Ville de St. Helier*, p. 95).

The Channel Islands

some person, wrapped in a sheet, and with a false head of a horse or donkey placed over his own, should run through the roads and even appear at the veilles, frightening the people, both young and old.

The le Pelleys remained "Lords of Sark and its Dependencies"—that is to say, Little Sark, le Tass, and Brechou, or, as it is also called, L'Ile des Marchands, having been the property of the le Marchants in the seventeenth century—until 1852, when, owing to his heavy losses in the unprofitable silver mines which had been recently opened in the island, Mr. Ernest le Pelley was compelled to sell it to Mrs. T. G. Collings of Guernsey, to whose grandson it still belongs.

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THE TINTAGEU AND ÎLE DES MARCHANDS, SARK



CHAPTER XV
THE LESSER ISLANDS

Sea-girt isles,
That like to rich and various gems inlay
The unadorned bosom of the deep.

—MILTON.

CHAPTER XV

THE LESSER ISLANDS

HERM

HERM is somewhat less than three miles distant from Guernsey, of which it is considered politically part and parcel, although its owners affirm that its eastern shores, which are beyond the three-mile radius, own no other jurisdiction but that of the British Government. This tiny island, which at present comprises about four hundred acres of land, was in early times the abode of monks. At first it belonged to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel. but William the Conqueror transferred it to the Convent of Notre Dame du Vœu at Cherbourg. As one approaches Herm a round hole is seen in a rock near the Rosière steps, looking as if it had been artificially bored to contain the staple of a gate. Tradition says that it marks the spot where the original chapel of Herm was built, and that this was swept away in a great inundation which overwhelmed more than half of the island. The little chapel which, if the above tradition be true, succeeded the first one, but which may itself have been the original chapel, was built on

The Channel Islands

the brow of the hill and dedicated to St. Tugual. Once the principal building in the island, it is now incorporated with the out-buildings of the Mansion. In 1480 a friar of Cherbourg, named Jean Guyffart, was made Prior of this chapel in place of Brother Richard de la Place, and the island apparently continued to be inhabited by monkish tenants until the days when religion succumbed to the clash of conflicting creeds. At that period, according to a French writer,¹ all the Roman Catholics in the other islands who had not conformed to the new faith fled to Herm, and there attempted to hold out against an onslaught of the Calvinists. But superior numbers prevailed, the Roman Catholics were forced to capitulate, the honourable terms agreed upon were repudiated by the victors, and most of the monks, together with four hundred refugees, are said to have been slaughtered.

However, no notice of this episode is to be found in any local history, and that some at least of the friars survived is testified by Elie Brevint, who wrote in 1619: "Perrine le Brocque a veu en Gerzé des beaux-pères (*sic*) d'Erme. En la dite Isle dans l'hermitage il y a une petite Table de pierre qu'on dit estre de marbre."

Brevint also tells us that Sir Thomas Leighton, the despotic Governor of Guernsey in the days of Elizabeth, was the first of the island's Governors to appropriate Herm, which had hitherto been considered

¹ *La France Illustrée*, (article "Coligni."), by Turgin.

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HERM AND JETHOU FROM THE SALERIE BATTERY, GUERNSEY



The Lesser Islands

as an ecclesiastical perquisite. Sir Thomas used the island as a game preserve and stocked it with deer, pheasants, rabbits, and a special breed of swans, while its pond or *vivier*—a frequent appanage of a monastery—was famous for its carp. He beguiled the monotony of his life at Castle Cornet by shooting parties, sailing across with his friends to the island in his private boat. On one occasion, indeed, his party terminated in a sad fatality, of which the full account is preserved among the inquests of the Royal Court.

Sir Thomas had organised a day's sport for August 18th, 1597. His party consisted of Mr. Peter Carey, jurat, Mr. John Andros, and four lads—his own son, Thomas Leighton, Walter St. John, the young brother-in-law of his daughter Anne Lady St. John, Peter Carey, junior, and Samuel Cartwright, possibly a son of the famous Presbyterian chaplain of Castle Cornet—their tutor, Mr. Isaac Daubeney, and various members of the household. It was with great reluctance that Sir Thomas had allowed the boys to go, and he only consented on condition that their tutor should accompany them, take their books, and give them their usual lessons in Herm. Accordingly they all started at daybreak, and on arrival the elders went off to hunt, and the boys did their lessons up to nine o'clock. Then their music master, Mr. Nicholas Blake, made them sing for an hour, and after a service of Prayer conducted by Mr. Daubeney they all went to dinner. The boys then begged to be allowed to bathe, and this request of theirs was also, with some

The Channel Islands

hesitation, granted on condition that some of the elders went with them. Just as they had got into the water, however, at Belvoir Bay, poor young St. John was knocked over by a wave, and though Mr. Daubeny rushed to his assistance and hoisted him on his back, he in his turn was upset, and before the others (who complained that they were entangled in masses of seaweed) could get to their assistance, they were both drowned.¹ Mr. Peter Carey deposed at the inquest how he had been obliged to break the sad news to the Governor, who was sleeping in his tent, having been up since 1 a.m., and who became quite overwhelmed with grief, and how the sad *cortège* had sailed back with the two corpses to Castle Cornet.

In the following century Herm continued to be a pleasure resort of successive Governors, for Jean de la Marche, the bigoted Puritanical divine, notes in his diary that on Sunday, August 5th, 1636, the Earl of Danby was "out hunting in his Island of Herm, whither he had taken the greater part of the Gentlemen of the Town (although by so doing they profaned the Day) and he having given his Horse

¹ This occurrence gives colour to the theory that the east as well as the west coast of Herm may have been encroached upon by the sea in comparatively recent times; for the present beach of Belvoir is quite flat and sandy, and such an accident would be practically impossible nowadays. But if at that date the shore extended to the now isolated rock called Coq Robert, where the land suddenly shelves downwards and where masses of seaweed abound, such a catastrophe could easily be explained.

The Lesser Islands

the Spur, it ceased not to rear and turn round and round until it had thrown him to the Ground."

In the days of Lord Hatton, Herm was farmed to Advocate Peter Gosselin, who kept there a large flock of sheep, which, as he wrote¹ to Lord Hatton, contributed "to the manufacture of stockings and to maintaine a livelyhood to above two hundred poore people that worke for me." Now Francis Greene, Lord Hatton's agent in Guernsey, had a short time before—viz., in August 1677—written a letter² in which he tried to get the island taken away from Mr. Gosselin, saying that "Gosselin's nonsensicall sheepe-grassing trade has caused yo^r hearde of deare and eyes³ of phesans to be lessened above halfe."

In 1737 the "Island of Erm, otherwise Herme or Arm, with the House thereon erected, formerly a Chapple, and all the Deer, Partridges and Rabbits" on the said island, was let to Peter Carey of Guernsey, and this lease was in 1758 renewed to his son. The two last deer in Herm were killed about the year 1773, and the story has been handed down that the stags would swim over from that island—at low water a distance of about two miles—to browse on the Vale Commons, and would then swim back, being intelligent enough always to choose the proper tides.

Since that time Herm has been rented from the

¹ British Museum, Add. MSS. 29555, fol. 237.

² *Ibid.* 29564, fol. 221.

³ This is an obsolete substantive used erroneously for *nye* or *neye*, meaning a brood, or, literally a, nest.

The Channel Islands

British Government by a succession of individuals, and at the present time by the West Bank of Silesia, whose tenant, H.S.H. Prince Blücher von Wahlstatt—great-grandson of the famous Field-Marshal—occupies the island for a portion of the year. He has planted a number of trees and introduced the small species of kangaroo called wallaby into the island.

Herm resembles Guernsey in miniature, being flat and sandy at the north and east, and steep and precipitous at the south and west. On the coast facing Sark is a very fine "creux," through which the rising tide foams and splashes, but Herm is especially famous for its two Shell Beaches, of which even the shingle is entirely composed of minute fragments of shell, and which are unequalled on the British coasts for the profusion, variety, and rarity of the species to be found there.

On this island a recent Bailiff of Guernsey, Sir Peter Stafford Carey, picked up an ancient gold signet ring. This ring (which Sir Peter bequeathed to the Royal Court) was identified by its workmanship and by the arms engraved upon it—a pelican in its piety—as being the signet used by Pierre de Beauvoir, Bailiff of Guernsey from 1470 to 1479, to seal his official documents.¹ From its size it must have been worn as a thumb ring.

¹ This device seems to have been the original coat of arms used by the de Beauvoirs until a nephew of this Pierre de Beauvoir, Bailiff, William de Beauvoir, jurat (the same William who has been mentioned in an earlier chapter as the Guernseyman to whom Madame de Carteret fled for refuge), married Jenette Caretier, co-heiress with her sister

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VIEW FROM OLD GOVERNMENT HOUSE HOTEL, GUERNSEY

BY



The Lesser Islands

JETHOU

Adjacent to Herm, and only separated from it by a narrow channel less than a quarter of a mile wide and extremely dangerous to navigation on account of its submerged rocks and rushing tides, stands the small peak called Jethou, which is barely half a mile across. It rises abruptly, but is almost flat on the summit, from whence we see perhaps the most comprehensive view in the Islands. On the northern side the land slopes down to a rocky beach, and here a cluster of forest trees, and the three houses of which the island boasts, are to be found.

The earliest mention of this island in history is when Duke Robert of Normandy gave it to his "ship-master" Restald, who on becoming a monk bequeathed it to the Abbey of Mont St. Michel.

In the thirteenth century Sir William de Chesney, as Seigneur of Fief le Comte, had the life enjoyment of Jethou. This possession had probably been wrested from the Abbey of Mont St. Michel by means of one of the many law suits which were continually taking place between the Abbots and the Seigneurs of Fief le Comte; but it was agreed that it was to revert to the Abbey at Sir William's death, for it

Alicheffe of John Caretier, jurat, whose predecessor—whether father or uncle we know not—as Bailiff of Guernsey from 1447 to 1466, used a seal bearing a chevron between three quatrefoils. These maternal arms were adopted—perhaps owing to the loss of their ancestral signet—by the de Beauvoirs, who substituted cinquefoils for the quatrefoils of the earlier coat.

The Channel Islands

was valuable on account of certain revenues from its warrens and wreck of the sea. These rights were disputed by the King in 1309, but the twelve Guernsey jurats then declared upon their oath "that the Abbots of Mont St. Michel from time immemorial always held the little island of Jethou although there rarely lived there any man."¹

In later days Jethou, like Herm, was used as a game preserve by the Governors of Guernsey, and in Heylyn's time it had "some few fallow deer, and good plenty of conies."

Of these Drayton writes in his *Polyolbion* . —

Jethou t eed

With pheasants, fallow deer, and conies thou ed.

The deer and pheasants have long ago disappeared, but the rabbits remain.

General Daniel Harvey, Governor of Guernsey from 1715 to 1732, leased this island as well as Herm to Mr. Charles Nowell, of London, and since that time it has passed through many hands. For some years in the early part of the nineteenth century it belonged to Mr. John Allaire, a very wealthy merchant of Guernsey, whose daughter, Mrs. Collings, became the purchaser of Sark. Sir Henry Austin Lee is the present lessee.

On the prominent points of both Herm and Jethou pirates and wreckers were hung in chains as a grim object lesson to all passers-by, and an old iron

¹ Assize Roll, p. 46.

The Lesser Islands

gibbet from which they were suspended by the neck is still in the possession of the lessee of Herm.

At one time Jethou was the resort of a gang of smugglers, and the story goes that about sixty years ago an outer wall of the old house was seen to be covered with a shabby paper hanging in strips, which the new owner said had better be pulled down and burnt. This order was in course of execution when a bystander, wanting a light for his pipe, took up one of the pieces of paper and found it was half a bank note. Needless to say the fire was immediately extinguished, but only four mutilated notes could be rescued from the flames. A few spade guineas have also been discovered near this spot.

One of the characteristics of the Channel Islands is the way that certain names and families become localised in one particular island or even parish ; and in the same manner it has been pointed out by a recent writer¹ that the plants of the various islands differ, each containing species not to be found in the others. Thus little Jethou contains a yellow forget-me-not which is almost peculiar to the island, and a white pimpernel, which is found neither in the other Channel Islands, nor yet on the mainland of Normandy.

LIHOU

The little island of Lihou is situated at L'Erée Point on the west coast of Guernsey, with which it

¹ *Flora of Guernsey and the Lesser Channel Islands*, by E. D. Marquand, (London, 1901).

The Channel Islands

is connected by a rough winding causeway, nearly half a mile in length, uncovered only at low tide. The island resembles Jethou in having but one habitable house and a large store of wild rabbits; but whereas Jethou is high, with rocky cliffs covered with furze and bracken and contains some fine forest trees, Lihou consists of low-lying fields of coarse grass, or sandy banks covered with fine turf and terminating in a flat stony shore, broken here and there by large picturesque masses of rock.

It contains the ruins of the Priory of St. Mary of Lihou, which was confirmed by Pope Adrian IV. in 1156 to the Abbot and brethren of Mont St. Michel. A rough representation of the priory chapel is cut on a stone now built into the wall of a neighbouring farmhouse, which, tradition says, is built on the site of the prior's residence. It depicts a building with a chancel and nave and with a square tower on the north-east side of the nave. On either side of the drawing are the following letters: H. D. M. L. H. M. MCXIV. This rough picture fully corresponds with the structure of the church as shown by the existing ruins, and the inscription is by its owners supposed to stand for "Hellier du Mont, (Prior of) Lihoumel (an old form of the name Lihou), 1114," the date according to the legendary *Dédicace des Églises*, of its consecration.

¹ Formerly it was customary in the Islands to split up the syllables of proper names when writing initials. Thus over old doorway may be seen "J. F. L." standing for Jean Falla, or "P. M. G." for Pierre Mauger, etc.

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MONDEAUX HARBOUR, GUERNSEY



The Lesser Islands

The Abbot of Mont St. Michel and the Prior of Lihou were summoned before the Assize of 1309 to answer, among other charges, by what warrant they claimed "to have wreck of the sea throughout all their lands of Lyhou and the sea-coast adjoining, as well as free warren, a fishery at La Russe-mare¹ and the escheats and chattels of all the felons."

The Abbot and Prior alleged in reply that they had had a special Royal grant as to fishery and the wreck of the sea, always excepting the usual Kingly perquisites of silk, gold and scarlet cloth; that they claimed their right of warren "to chase in the time of season with dog and staff without engine, after the officers of the lord the King have chased"; and that as to the chattels of the felons, if the Prior's men could "lay hands more quickly upon such chattels than the men of the lord the King, then he claims to have those chattels and not otherwise."

Heylyn, writing of the lesser Channel Islands, says:—"The least of them, but yet of most note, is the little Islet called *Lehu* . . . neer unto those scattered rockes which are called *Les Hanwaux*, appertaining once unto the Dean but now unto the Governour. Famous for a little Oratory or Chantery there once erected and dedicated to the honour of the Virgin *Mary*, who by the people in those times was much sued to by the name of our lady of *Lehu*.

¹ Rousse-Mare, Claire-Mare, and Grande-Mare were three ponds on the western shores of Guernsey, and were at one time famous for their carp. They are now drained.

The Channel Islands

A place long since demolished in the ruine of it, & *jam periere ruina*, but now the ruines of it are scarce visible, there being almost nothing left of it but the steeple, which serveth only as a sea-marke, and to which as any of that party sail along, they strike their top sail. *Tantum religio potuit suadere*, such a Religious opinion have they harboured of the place, that though the Saint be gone, the wals yet shall still be honoured."

This steeple with the surrounding ruins was blown up in 1793 by order of the Governor of Guernsey on the ground that it might prove of service to the French should it fall into their hands. But the custom of paying reverence to the once sacred spot is observed by the fisher-folk to this day.

The island remained in the possession of the Governors until early in the eighteenth century, when with Herm and Jethou it was leased to the Englishman Nowell, with a proviso that the neighbours had the right of landing on his coasts to fish and to cut the *vraic* or seaweed which is particularly abundant there, and is used by the farmers to fertilise their lands.

It then passed to Messrs. John de Havilland and William le Marchant, and thence to William's brother, Eleazar le Marchant, Lieutenant-Bailiff of Guernsey. This Eleazar was of a somewhat litigious disposition and evolved a very pretty quarrel respecting the right of the Islanders with regard to this *vraic*. Though they might cut it on his domain, he contended, they had no right to spread it out to dry there. It appears by the Report of the Royal Commissioners for 1815 that

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CASQUIT ROCKS AND LIGHTHOUSE



The Lesser Islands

they had refused him compensation for trespass which he had claimed from some of his neighbours. This adverse decision led to Mr. le Marchant's issuing a counter-pamphlet, or, as he called it, a *Statement of Facts*, with respect to this question, in which he affirmed that these Commissioners, "from the day of their arrival to that of their departure, were almost incessantly feasted and regaled by divers Members of the Royal C—, who scarcely possessed any will or opinion but that of Sir J. D.,¹ the Lieutenant-Governor. It is therefore supposed by many that the minds of the Commissioners received an insensible bias from the frequent opportunities of private conversation afforded them by the prudent policy of their hosts." But in spite of all these complaints and protests as late as 1821 we find him obliged to insert a long advertisement in the local papers offering ten guineas reward for the discovery of the misdemeanants who had broken into and robbed his farmhouses and stables, so that he might "mettre enfin un terme à des déprédations et des brigandages commis par de soi-disant chrétiens."

Mr. le Marchant bequeathed this island to his cousin, Mr. Priaulx of Montville, in the hands of one of whose descendants it still remains.

THE ECREHOUS

Off the coast of Jersey are two clusters of islands, the dangerous uninhabited rocks called the Minquiers,

¹ Sir John Doyle.

The Channel Islands

and the group called Ecrehous, which were, before successive encroachments by the sea, far larger and more important than they are now. They now consist of Maître Ile, Blanque Ile, and Marmotier, Blanque Ile and Marmotier being virtually one island except at high water.

In 1202 these islands were given by Pierre de Préaux to the Norman Abbey of Val Richer, and on Maître Ile are still to be seen the ruins of the chapel he founded. For many centuries the islands have remained comparatively deserted, and only recently there died a man named Pinel who had led a Crusoe-like existence on Blanque Isle for over forty years and gained the sobriquet of "King of the Ecrehous."

Some years ago a question arose between France and England whether these islands were really included within Jersey territory or whether they should be considered as neutral ground. This argument resulted in the English flag being hoisted with an unusual amount of ceremony upon them.

THE CASQUETS

About seven miles west of Alderney, situated in the most dangerous part of the Channel, are the famous Casquet Rocks, "where the carcasses of many a tall ship lie buried."

At one time the belief was current that this was the spot where the *Blanc Nef*, with Prince William, only son of Henry I., and his noble retinue, went down, but modern historians think the scene of that

The Lesser Islands

tragedy was more likely to have been in the neighbourhood of Barfleur.

Not until 1723, in response to a petition from the Governor of Alderney, was the first beacon light exhibited on these dangerous rocks, and then it was but a coal fire burning upon an armourer's forge, and kept in flame by bellows. But this contrivance proved sadly inadequate; wreck after wreck took place on these rocks; and in 1744 the finest battle-ship in the British fleet, the splendid *Victory*, with Admiral Sir John Balchen and eleven hundred men on board, was driven upon them by a furious gale, and every soul perished. In 1779 this primitive appliance was superseded by an oil light in a copper lantern, and in 1790 three lighthouses named St. Peter, St. Thomas, and Donjon respectively were built and lit by a number of Argand lights. These were looked after by a single Alderney family named Houguez, of which the man, his wife, and his six children took turns at watching and relighting the lamps so often broken and extinguished by the sea that—

Mounting to the welkin's cheek,
Dashes the fire out.

To these exiles Alderney constituted both mainland and metropolis, and the details are still recalled of a visit the eldest girl was induced to pay to her relations at St. Anne's. After a short sojourn in what—to her—was a giddy whirl of society, "aweary of this great world" she joyfully returned to her rock.

The Channel Islands

Too full, she said, was the world of trouble,
Too dense with noise of the things of earth.
And she turned her again to replenish with double
Delight her desire of the things of her birth.
For joy grows loftier in air more lonely,
Where only the sea's brood fain would be;
Where only the heart may receive in it only
The love of the heart of the sea.

Two of the lighthouses have now been converted,
one into a fog-signal station, and one into a store,
and the remaining tower has been fitted with a
very brilliant revolving light which marks the spot
where so many

Sons of earth,
Beat down by vengeful waves,
Sleep beneath these obliterate stones
In unmeasurable graves.

INDEX

A

Alderney, 231-49
Alderney, dolmens in, 15
Andros, family of, 68, 71-4, 83
Andros, Sir Edmund, 68, 191,
244-5
Anneville, Fief of, 66-9

B

Bailiffs of Jersey and Guernsey,
37, 91
Bandinel, Dean, 117, 120-22, 185
Barentin de, family of, 52-5
Battle of Jersey, 151
Beauvoir, de, arms of, 280 n.
Beauvoir, de, Peter, 186
Beauvoir, de, William 49
Bie, La Hougue, 29-32
Blanchelande, Abbey of, 75
Blanchelande, Court of, 79
Blanchelande, Fief of, 76-9
Bordages, Les, 62-3
Brock, Sir Isaac, 226
Burning of three heretics, 100

C

Cage, the, 102
Carey family, 77-8
Carey, Peter, 186-8, 277, 279

Carteret, de, family of, 45-52,
135 n.
Carteret, Hellier de (of Sark),
262-4
Carteret, Marguerite de, 131-4,
138 n., 145-6
Carteret, Sir Philip de, 114, 115,
119, 121, 126, 130
Carteret, Sir George, 97, 121, 128,
130, 141
Casquets, the, 288-90
Chamberlain, family of, 242-4
Charlots and Jeannots, 156-7
Chateaubriand, René de, 154
Chesney, de, family of, 7, 67, 81-2,
88
Chesney, de, Sir William, 281
Clameur de Haro, 99-100
Cloche, James de la, 131-46
Cloche, Jean la, 135, 146
Collings, Rev. W., 265
Collings (Seigneurs of Sark), 272
Colombiers, 55-6
Commerce of the Channel Islands,
199-200
Comte, Fief le, 81-5
Condé, Prince de, 185, 222-3
Conway, Marshal, 11
Cornet, Castle, blown up, 192-5
Cornet, Castle, residents of, 195-6

Index

Cornet, Castle, siege of, 186-90
 Court Houses of the Islands, 97
 Court of Chief Pleas, 43 *n.*
 Creux des Varous, 22
 Cromlechs, 8-17
 Crown officers of the Islands, 94-5

D

Darell, Nathaniel, 191-2 *n.*
 D'Auvergne, Admiral Philip, Duc
 de Bouillon, 32, 152-4
Dénonciateurs, 96
Descente des Arongousais, 172-3
 Dobrée, family of, 184 *n.*
 Dobrée, Peter Paul, 227
 Dumaresq, family of, 5-8, 108, 156

E

Écrehous, Les, 287-8
 Elizabeth Castle, 25, 118, 125, 129,
 150
 Elizabeth College, 179-80
 Eperons, Les, 81
Esperquerie, 64
 Essex Castle, 236
 Essex, Earl of, 236-7
 Essex, Sir William, 236
 Etienne, Dame Elizabeth, 268-70
 Exmouth, Earl of, 226-7
 Extents, 6

F

Falla epitaph, 221
 Fashion, family of, 68
 Feudal system in Alderney, 233-5
 Feudal system in Jersey and
 Guernsey, 41-88
 Feudal system in Sark, 257-60
Forties and Sixties, 213-14

G

Gorban, 5
 Gosselin, family of, 101 *n.*
 Gosselin, Hellier, Bailiff of Guern-
 sey, 100-101
 Gosselin, Nicholas, 264
 Gosselin, Peter, 279
 Governors of Guernsey and Jersey.
 37
Greffier, the, 95
 Guernsey Lily, the, 224-5
 Guille, family of, 33, 83, 185

H

Hatton, Charles, 196, 224-5
 Hatton, Lord, 192, 196, 279
Haro, Clameur de, 99-100
 Haviland, James, 49
 Haviland, James de, 186-8
 Haye, Richard de la, 75, 257
 Helier, St., 24
 Helier, St., Abbey of, 25
 Helier, St., Guillaume de, 57
 Helier, St., town of, 162-3
 Herald, Mont Orgueil, 106
 Heresy, women burnt for, 100-101
 Herm, 275-80
 Herm, dolmens in, 15
 Hougues, 29-32
 Hougue Bie, 29-32
 Hugo, Victor, 155-6, 223-4
 Huguenot refugees, 117, 184, 222-3

J

Jarls, 29, 256
Jeannots, Charlots and, 156-7
 Jerbourg, Castle of, 33, 70-71, 84,
 172
 Jethou, 281-3
 Jurats, 92-4

Index

K

- King Charles II., 55 n., 96, 125-45,
191, 195, 244
King, feudal rights of, 63-6, 233-5,
258, 285

L

- Lambert, General, 195
Land, inheritance of, 100
Language of Islands, 97, 228
Laurels and Roses, 157-8
Lemprière, family of, 55-6, 59-60
Leprosy, 53 n.
Lihou, 283-7
Lily, Guernsey, 224-5
Ling, Captain Nicholas, 243 n.
Liures tournois, 43 n.

M

- Mace, presented to Jersey, 130
Man with the Iron Mask, 140-46
Marchant, le, Drouet, 174
Marchant, le, Eleazar, 286
Marchant, le, John Gaspard, 226
Marchant, le, Peter, 56, 176
Marque, letters of, 200-201
Martinvast, Priory of, 76
Mauger, Archbishop, 33-4
Mesurier, le, family of, 245-7
Métivier, George, 227
Millais, Sir John, 168
Mont Orgueil Castle, 114, 116,
121, 129, 166

N

- Neutrality, Charter of, 178-9, 203
New Jersey, 130
Nicolle, Hoste, 118
"Nunnery" in Alderney, 238

O

- Osborne, Sir Peter, 186-8

P

- Payn, family of, 58, 108
Pellew, family of, 226
Pelley, le, arms of, 227
Pelley, le (Seigneurs of Sark),
268-72
Perquages, 54-5 n.
Perrin, family of, 56
Peter-Port, St., church of, 218
Peter-Port, St., town of, 217-18
Pierson, Major, 150-52
Pillory, the, 102
Pouquelays, 8-17
Préaux, de, Pierre, 35-7, 46, 257,
288
Préaux, de, William, 35-6
Priaulx, family of, 35
Priaulx, Peter, 84, 185
Prince of Wales, Charles II. when,
125-8
Prynne, William, 120

Q

- Quenvais, 7

R

- Redevances*, 87-8
Renouf, Sir Peter le Page, 227
Robert, Nicholas, 190
Rocque de l'Hyvrense, 13
Rozel, Fief of, 52-7
Rullecourt, Baron de, 149-52

S

- Salle, Gaultier de la, 175-7
Samarés, Fief of, 57-9
Sark, 253-72
Sarrasins, 28-9
Saumarez, Lord de, 74-5

Index

Sausmarez, de, family of, 69-75
 Seals, decanal, 108-9
 Seals, official, 105-6
 Seals, private, 106-8
Sergeant, 96
Sixties and Forties, 213-14
 St. Brelade, 165
 St. Helène, Fief of, 79-80
 St. Helier, 24
 St. Helier, Abbey of, 25
 St. Helier, Guillaume de, 57
 St. Helier, town of, 162-3
 St. Magloire, 27, 236, 256
 St. Marcouf, 23
 St. Martin, de, family of, 59-60
 St. Martin, de, Jean, 53
 St. Michel, Fief of, 85-7
 St. Ouen, Fief of, 42, 45-51
 St. Ouen, Manor House of, 51-2
 St. Peter-Port, church of, 218
 St. Peter-Port, town of, 217-18
 St. Romy, de, William, 79-80
 St. Sampson, 23
 St. Sampson, town of, 220-21
 States of Guernsey, 98
 States of Jersey, 97
 Stevens, Captain, 205-6
 Stocks, the, 102

Sumptuary laws, 105

T

Tobacco, cultivation of, 119, 183
 Torque, found in Jersey, 163
 Trinity, Manor of, 59, 131
 Trinity, registers of, 132
 Tupper, Captain John, 203-7
 Tupper, Ferdinand Brock, 227
 Tupper, John, 93

V

Val, Andrew du, 259
 Vardes, L'Autel des, 13
 Varous, Creux des, 22, 220
 Vernon, de, Richard, 257
 Vernon, de, William, 35, 75, 257
 Vic, de, John, 95
 Vic, de, Louis, 94
 Vic, de, Sir Henry, 141, 185, 191
Vicomte, le, 95-6

W

Wace, 28, 34
 Warwick, Earl of, 174
 Weights and measures, 100

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MAP ACCOMPANYING THE CHANNEL ISLAND



EL ISLANDS. PAINTED BY HENRY B. WIMBUSH. DESCRIBED BY EDITH F. CAREY.



ED BY . A. AND C. BLACK . SOHO SQUARE . LONDON . W.